Non-Partisan Discussion of International Movements

World Unity

LEADING ARTICLES

The European Union Commission—*Editorial*
The Colleges and World Affairs—*Palmer*
World Citizenship and Exterritoriality—*Ross*
Pacifism and the National State—*Holley*
Syria—*Miller*

Interpreting the spirit of the new age

"The realities of war are of such physical and mental degradation... that war must be banished from the world if humanity is to progress."—*Evelyn Newman*

35 cents

July 1931

A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Issued October 1, 1927

WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE, as its title implies, will endeavor to interpret and record those significant changes in present-day thought which mark the trend toward worldwide understanding and a humanized civilization able to release the finer aspirations of mankind.

Its essential purpose is to make accessible to awakened minds the views and conclusions of creative workers on subjects of truly general interest and importance. The emergence of new and higher values in philosophy, science, religion, ethics and the arts from the alembic of universal unrest represents the focal point of vision for World Unity Magazine.

To create a medium capable of responding faithfully, without prejudice of race, creed, class or nationality, to the uprush of the spirit of the age wherever or however manifested—this is the ideal to which World Unity Magazine is devoted; and faith in humanity arising at last to assert its organic oneness, the foundation on which it stands.

Constructive suggestions will be heartily welcomed from progressive individuals and organizations to assist the Magazine to fulfill its function as a clearing-house of ideas and plans reflecting the organic trends of the age toward world unity and cooperation. The Magazine will endeavor to publish significant articles of a stimulating character, without assuming responsibility for its contributors' views.

WORLD UNITY

INTERPRETING
THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, *Editor*
HORACE HOLLEY, *Managing Editor*

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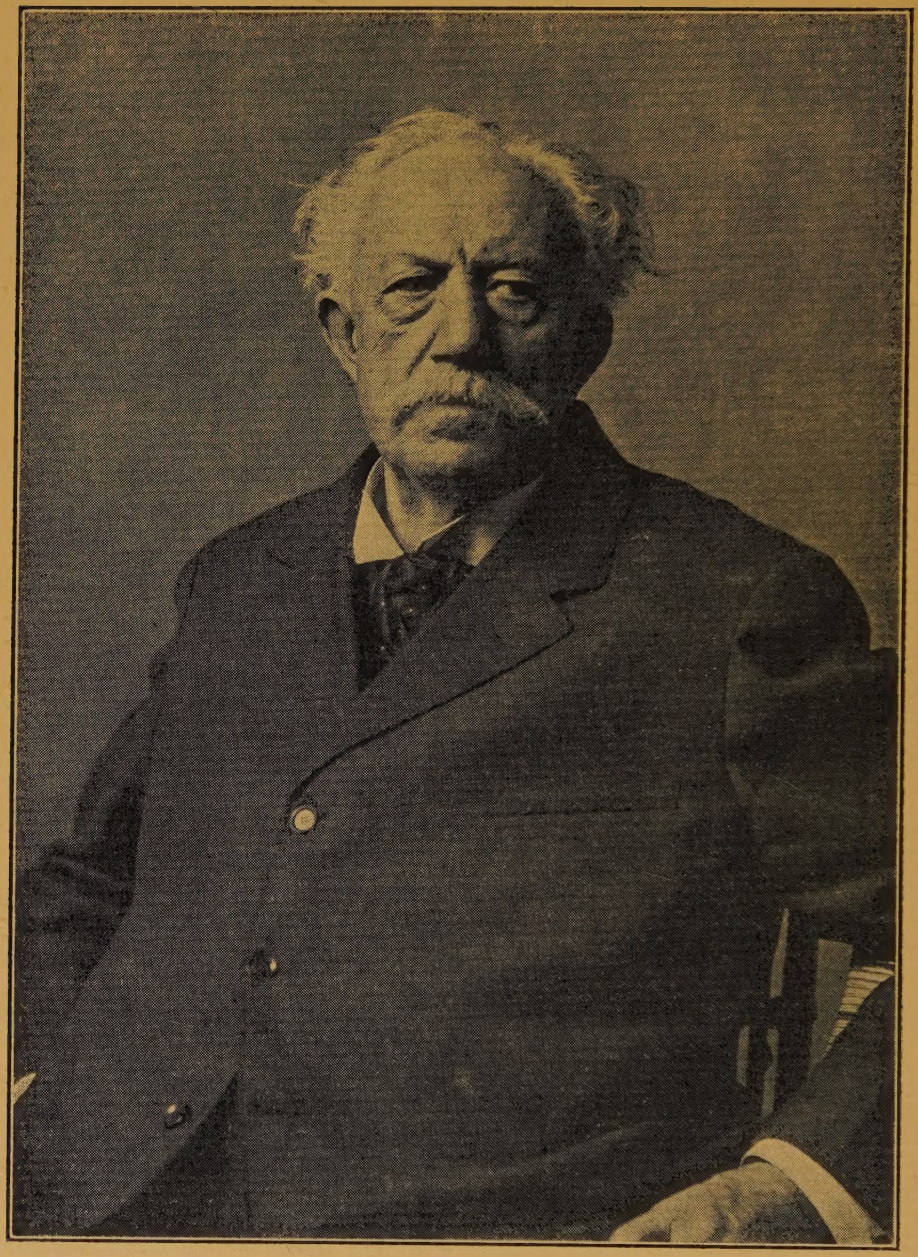

David Starr Jordan

Apostle of World Unity
(See World Unity Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1)

THE EUROPEAN UNION COMMISSION

EDITORIAL

AGAINST the confused and threatening background of European economic depression, the meeting of the European Union Commission which opened at Geneva on May 15th, stands out as furnishing hopeful and encouraging signs that Europe is moving in the direction of sanity. The atmosphere in which the meetings were held seemed more conducive to active cooperation on the part of the nations represented, than for some time.

At the very outset Mr. Briand adopted a conciliatory tone on the subject of the Austro-German Customs Union. He emphasized the fact that France must not be content with mere negative criticism of the proposal, but must present a constructive counter-proposal. Among other things, the comprehensive plan later presented envisages: (1) The gradual coordination of Europe's economic structure to a point at which the several states can undertake to lower their tariff walls; (2) The establishment of an international agricultural credits bank; (3) The establishment of a vast network of cartels which would eventually include all important industrial products; (4) The appointment of a special committee to aid the League of Nations Financial Committee to obtain better financial cooperation among the European nations; (5) The adoption of special measures to assist Austria in its present serious plight. Later at a meeting of the League Council, it was voted to refer the legality of the Austro-German proposal to the World Court.

Of great significance was the proposal by Mr. Litvinov, representing the Soviet Government, for "an economic non-aggressive

pact," by which contracting parties would accept the principle of peaceful co-existence irrespective of political, social and economic systems, would pledge themselves to adopt no discriminating measures against each other, and would make compulsory "sale on the home market at prices no higher than on the foreign market." This proposal was referred to a special Committee for serious and friendly study with the view of ending economic aggression and enmity between Russia and the capitalist nations.

Of still deeper significance was the fact that Mr. Litvinov was invited to be officially present at Geneva. Formerly, the League of Nations has brought together at stated intervals in Geneva for the meetings of the League Assembly and Council all the great powers save the United States and Russia. Now this European Commission, meeting at the same time as both the Assembly and Council, serves to bring all the Foreign Ministers of Europe to Geneva, including Russia and Turkey. Russia and Turkey will thus be negotiating at Geneva all summer in the series of Committees which the European Commission has just created.

If the Assembly, as is planned, puts Argentina and China on the Council and reelects Spain, this means that next January the Council will bring to Geneva Japan, Argentina and China, and all the great powers of Europe; while at the same time the European Commission will bring all other Foreign Ministers of Europe, including those of Russia and Turkey.

And this means that for the next critical three years the only important country in the world that will not send an official representative to Geneva regularly every four months to exchange views and seek a fuller measure of cooperation among the nations will be the United States.

As Clarence Streit says: "There are two ways of attaining isolation. One is by withdrawing from the crowd, the other is by the crowd withdrawing from you. When both movements happen to be going on simultaneously, the extreme of isolation is produced in the shortest time." It is this "extreme of isolation," toward which its policy of aloofness is leading the United States today.

J. H. R.

THE COLLEGES AND WORLD AFFAIRS

by

ARCHIE M. PALMER

Associate Secretary, Association of American Colleges

THE first college to be founded in the United States was designed to develop character, foster learning and train educated leaders for church and state. The college charter, granted nearly three centuries ago and under which the college still operates, expressly defined the purpose of the college as being "the advancement of all good literature, arts and sciences . . . and all other necessary provisions that may conduce to the education of the . . . youth of this country in knowledge and godliness."

Another of our early colleges was founded as a school "wherein Youth may be instructed in the Arts & Sciences, who through the blessing of Almighty God may be fitted for Publick employment both in Church and Civil State."

In his "Advertisement" announcing the opening of another of our colonial colleges, the first president mentions as the chief aim the knowledge of God, virtuous habits, and useful knowledge, that "may render them (the students) creditable to their Families and Friends, Ornaments to their Country and useful to the public Weal in their Generations."

This conception of the college as a place to "develop, not ideas in the abstract, not the human tools of the trades, but personalities capable of a large participation in life and a large contribution to life"—to quote the words of the late Ernest DeWitt Burton—this conception has persisted through the years, and the influence and the service of the college have notably expanded.

A test of the worth and usefulness of a college, a justification which we may offer for its existence and for the demands it makes upon the public, is found in the benefit which is derived by the

individual student, not for selfish ends, but for the rendering of public service of the highest order. If the college makes men and women strong, virile, and ready to carry the torch of civilization aloft and onward, its place is assured. If it does not, it has failed to justify its existence. The preparation of men and women for enlightened citizenship is a function recognized by every college.

There has probably never been a time when world affairs have been of more importance to Americans than during the years which have elapsed since the World War. The world has been undergoing a readjustment upon which hinges the entire future and well-being, not only of this nation but of all nations. No country occupies a position of isolation any longer, least of all the United States which has come to assume a dominant place in the international scheme.

This situation has placed certain heavy obligations and duties on each citizen. Is the college graduate better equipped and better trained for the discharge of these obligations and duties, as a result of the time spent in college? The world has no use for the intellectual idler or the ornamental slacker, the world looks to the colleges for the making of citizens better fitted to render public service.

As Milton has so aptly expressed it, "a complete and generous education is that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of peace and war." That college best serves which best fits its graduates for such service.

The realization of the value of including in the college curriculum courses on foreign affairs and on international relations has manifested itself in the establishment of a great multiplicity of courses of study in those branches of learning which in any way have to do with international questions.

In a commencement address delivered this past month Newton D. Baker expressed the view that "liberal and educated American youth, not conservative old age, will supply the needed energy and force to meet the country's economic problems; youth will eradicate the religious, racial, and national prejudices held by the present generation." That the colleges have accepted this challenge is borne

out in a study recently made of what our institutions of higher learning are doing to inculcate in the college youth of today, the habit of thinking along international lines.

The spirit of objective inquiry into the great problems of the modern world underlies most of the courses bearing on the different aspects of international affairs which are given at American colleges and universities. A course of International Organization, taught at one institution, is based on the historical study of the growing need for and the partial realization of the instruments in interstate government. The need for interstate government to solve many of the present-day problems is pointed out and the League of Nations is studied as a partial solution of these problems, without any intention of making political propaganda for or against the League. The aim of this course, to develop scientific understanding rather than political convictions, is representative of the spirit and intent of instruction in this field.

The number of courses offered varies from one or two in some of the smaller colleges to as many as one hundred in several of the large universities. Among the titles of these courses we find such as "International Relations Before 1914," "International Relations Since 1914," "Pan American Relations," "The Contemporary World Community of International Problems," "Studies of Problems Before the League of Nations," "Hispanic American Civilization," "Current International Politics," "The League of Nations," "Experiments in International Organization," "Labor Problems and Policies Abroad," "Foreign Banking Systems," "Village Schools in Foreign Lands," "European Education," "Latin American Education," "Comparative Education," and many other titles quite as suggestive.

Through these courses a new approach to the study of world affairs and of current problems in history, economics and the political and social sciences is being cultivated, and a new viewpoint is being given to the aim and purpose of a liberal education. The colleges are seeking to interpret to their students the thought and practices of the peoples and nations of the world as revealed in the legal, political, economic, cultural, psychological, geographical, eth-

ical, and social factors underlying their international relationships.

In addition to the study of international affairs in general, particular attention to Oriental problems is given at a number of the institutions on the Pacific Coast and in that section of the country, where intimate relations are had with the peoples and the affairs of the Orient. This emphasis on the theatre of affairs in the areas bordering on the Pacific recalls John Hay's observation that "whoever understands China socially, religiously, and politically holds the key to the world's politics for the next five centuries."

Virtually all the instruction given in the graduate school of geography at one university is considered as leading toward a better knowledge of the peoples and of the conditions under which they are living in the various parts of the world. Leading the students to a better understanding of the peoples of the world has been the keynote in the development of this work in geography. Each year, as an added feature, distinguished travelers from foreign countries are invited to take part in the work.

The colleges are not content with giving an opportunity to their students for an understanding of world problems through the regular curriculum offerings. There is also a conscious effort on the part of administrative officers and faculties to bring to the college campus men who are able to interpret such questions to the student body. Several hundred colleges and universities each year invite both American and foreign specialists to deliver special lectures and to conduct discussions on various phases of international relations.

Not only are distinguished outsiders employed to bring fresh impressions from the field, but addresses on world affairs are also frequently given by qualified faculty members, both in student convocations and in public meetings. Members of college faculties often deliver lectures on international affairs under the auspices of such agencies as the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. These lectures and addresses are given both on the college campus and in the community served by the college. At one small college a special lecture foundation has been established for providing free public lectures on world peace.

The deed of a gift to one university provides that the income

from $25,000 is to be used for the promotion of international peace. The committee of direction is authorized to hold conferences "at such times as may be deemed most expedient, these conferences to be opened by an address from some distinguished advocate of international peace, which address shall be followed by free discussion of the topics and propositions introduced. The committee may also offer from time to time, if deemed advisable, prizes for essays upon topics which they consider germane to the purpose of this fund." This gift is remarkable for the reason that it was given to the university back in 1909. Since that time the committee in charge has brought to the university, year by year, outstanding leaders on international affairs.

In a few of the universities exchange professorships with institutions of higher learning in foreign countries have been established whereby foreign scholars have been brought to the United States for periods varying from one month to a year. These scholars have been made available for lectures at other institutions and before civic and other group organizations interested in the presentation of intimate analyses of world affairs by men with a foreign viewpoint.

Many institutions benefited greatly from the visit to Europe in 1926 by some fifty American professors of political science under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. They were given unusual opportunities, especially at Geneva, for a study of the work of the Secretariat, the Council and the League of Nations, as well as that of the International Labor Bureau. These professors returned to their class rooms with an added enthusiasm for a better understanding of international affairs.

The following summer a party of forty-one professors and students representing fifteen American colleges and universities visited Paris, Munich, Vienna, and Budapest on their way to Roumania, where they were the guests of the government. They were offered every facility for viewing the country and their itinerary took them into the several provinces and cities of that state. They traveled by special train and they were courteously received by the queen and the leading statesmen and scholars of Roumania. These

contacts were of special significance not only for the Americans but for the Roumanians as well. On their return the party spent some time in Prague, Leipzig, Amsterdam and The Hague. In the latter city, through the courtesy of Judge John Bassett Moore, the first representative of the United States elected to sit on the World Court, they were enabled to attend a session of that Court.

A group of Mexican teachers, through the aid furnished by one of the California colleges, have been enabled during the summer sessions of that college to make a special study of the English language and of the methods of education found in the United States. A gratifying increase of friendly understanding and a growth of personal friendships through educational cooperation has resulted from this enterprise.

The colleges and universities are not only striving to give their students a saner international understanding by actual instruction, but the libraries are showing a marked development in literature available for the study of international affairs. During the past decade many institutions have been stressing the need for material leading up to the World War. The Hoover War Library at Stanford University is especially noteworthy in this connection.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, through its Division of Intercourse and Education, has made it possible for those colleges and universities where International Relations Clubs are organized to add each year to their libraries selected volumes and pamphlets on international affairs. These clubs, now numbering 188, have been sponsored for over a decade now in various sections of the United States. The purpose of the clubs is "to stimulate and encourage the habit of serious and intelligent thought along international lines in the hope that it may become a life habit."

Through the regular instalments of books sent out each year by the Endowment to the International Relations Clubs the colleges where they exist have accumulated excellent, specialized libraries on international relations. In addition the Endowment gives advice to the clubs, outlines programs when desired, supplies a fortnightly summary of international events, sends lecturers, and in every way makes the clubs feel that they are linked together in a movement of

vital importance to the peaceful progress of the world.

An intensive study of some specific topic is made by the International Relations Clubs each year. In 1928, when the program suggested had to do with inter-American relations, six volumes including "Five Republics of Central America" by Dana G. Munro, "Latin America and the United States" by Graham H. Stuart, and "Our Relations to the Nations of the Western Hemisphere" by Charles Evans Hughes, and a selected list of pamphlets issued under the auspices of the Pan American Union were presented to the libraries of the clubs.

Not only does the International Relations Club constitute the nucleus for voluntary study on the part of students of international relations, but it becomes the sponsor, in the institution itself, for the lectures sent each year by the Carnegie Endowment. In 1929 the lectures included Sir Herbert Brown Ames, formerly member of the Canadian Parliament and Financial Director of the League of Nations 1920-26; C. Douglas Booth, member of the Royal Institute of International Affairs of London; Professor Clyde Eagleton of New York University; Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, formerly member of the Hungarian Parliament and formerly Minister of the Interior of Hungary; and Professor Pitman S. Potter of the University of Wisconsin.

Besides the International Relations Clubs, there are in the colleges other clubs of students who are devoting their attention primarily to study of world peace and kindred international problems. They are organized under such names as "World Fellowship League," "Current Events Club," "Diplomatic Club," "International Club," "Foreign Relations Club," "Students' World Peace Organization." In a number of institutions political science clubs and history clubs give attention also as a part of their programs to international relations, while in some the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., and the Cosmopolitan Clubs give a part of their programs to international affairs.

Growing out of the clubs of various kinds has come the development of conferences between representatives of the clubs of different colleges and universities. On a number of college cam-

puses model assemblies have been held in which there was a reproduction of the program of the Assembly of the League of Nations. In one of these assemblies there were representatives of ten universities and colleges; while in another there were student representatives from twenty colleges.

Ten years ago the first session of an Institute of Politics was held on the campus of Williams College, and each summer since then there has gathered at Williamstown a group of eager seekers after enlightenment on international problems of the day. Almost from the beginning the institute idea was copied by other groups, and there are now a considerable number of well-established institutes in different parts of the country, functioning upon the same general principles and in several instances attracting as wide interest.

The Institute of Politics at Williamstown had its origin in the desire to make Williams College a more effective educational institution, and one of greater social utility. The original plan, conceived in 1913, called for the assembling at Williamstown each summer of a group of scholars of international reputation to deliver courses of lectures to a select group of college teachers and graduate students. It was felt that this would tend to raise the educational standards of the college by affording the faculty an opportunity to make those intellectual contacts which, by the force of circumstances, are denied to the teaching staffs of small institutions. By offering these advantages to scholars and to teachers from other institutions, it was likewise thought that Williams might contribute to raising educational standards throughout the country.

As originally conceived the Institute of Politics was designed to appeal chiefly to members of college faculties and to graduates, —"a company of scholars living together, ... sitting at the feet of leaders and pursuing their researches under circumstances most favorable to achievement." However, the intervention of the World War and its aftermath delayed the establishment of the Institute and it was not until 1921 that it became a reality.

As finally established, the Institute differed essentially from the scheme originally outlined eight years previously. Economically, politically, and intellectually the world seemed to be in

transition. To understand new problems, to assist in their solution, to prevent the barely extinguished conflagration from breaking out again—these seemed the paramount tasks of the moment.

In response to these needs, the purpose of the Institute was redefined. It was no longer to be simply a gathering of scholars for the advancement of learning in America. It was to be an institute, "a place where world problems were to be discussed and clarified, facts of difficult and complex situations brought out, and possible solutions suggested." As briefly defined in the preliminary announcement, the object of the Institute was "to advance the study of politics and to promote a better understanding of international problems and relations." It was designed "to aid in spreading throughout the length and breadth of the land an appreciation of the facts of our relationship to other nations and of the consequent responsibilities that we must assume."

From the outset, the Institute has sought to get at the facts of a situation. So far as humanly possible, vague and aimless discussion, based on prejudices and misconception, has been barred. An important phase of the Institute's activities has, from the beginning, been to bring qualified representatives of other nations to Williamstown that they might describe the problems peculiar to their respective countries, represent the state of public opinion, and set forth their national policies.

The aim has been "to explore the facts underlying international events, and to seek the truth, as each sees it, concerning international relations." From the outset the purpose of the Institute has been broadly educational, in the hope that it might give those who influence American foreign policy a valuable source of information. It has also aimed through the press and the radio to reach an audience far larger than that assembled at Williamstown and to give the leaders of public opinion "a means of accurately informing themselves and giving the people a clearer idea of what justice is between the nations."

The annual sessions of the Institute generally commence the last week in July and run for a duration of four weeks. The program for any year is determined to a considerable extent by the

current international situation. The Institute has, indeed, been described as a barometer of conditions in the field of international politics. At the same time, it has attempted to throw light upon the broad factors underlying international relations, such as race antagonism, nationalism, economic imperialism, and the formation and development of public opinion.

For the fifth successive year there will be held this summer at the University of Virginia an Institute of Public Affairs, designed to advance the popular understanding of current public questions. This Institute emphasizes particularly the domestic problems of the United States and provides for their discussion in a broad and competent fashion by men charged with the task of public administration and by those who are actively engaged in public affairs. The program is limited primarily to a study and discussion of governmental problems of national, state and local concern, and the economic and social conditions underlying them. An effort is made each year to select for discussion those questions which are of immediate concern and interest to the American people. This year the issues to be discussed are: law enforcement, our Latin-American relations, the plight of southern agriculture, problems of municipal administration, religious education in the rural church, the chain store, the new industrialism of the south, regionalism, and unemployment.

During the past three years Rollins College has each winter conducted an Institute of Statesmanship, designed to offer a training field to undergraduates of Rollins and other colleges, as well as interested visitors. The Institute, intended for those acutely interested in the intelligent study and discussion of public questions, has from the start dealt with subjects of a highly controversial nature. "The Future of Party Government in the United States" was the topic chosen for the first year. This year the general subject was "Our Changing Economic Life," as revealed in the progressive integration of American business and its apparently declining individualism.

About ten years ago a Conference of Friends of the Mexicans was organized under the joint auspices of Pomona College and the

California State Board of Education. For the first three years it was entirely a gathering of teachers. Six years ago it came under the direction of the Inter-America Foundation and its scope has been widened to include all persons interested in the Mexican population in the United States. It has become the largest conference of this kind held in the country, and is recognized as one of the three outstanding conferences on race relations held in the United States.

Recognizing that the student of the present day needs to know not only his own country but other nations as well, a student organization known as Pan Politikon has for several years now been providing at the University of Kentucky, through a schedule of lectures, classroom discussions, recitals and exhibits, a background for the intensive study each year of some country or group of countries.

An Institute of Municipal Affairs has been held biennially since 1925 under the auspices of the Bureau of Municipal Affairs at Norwich University. At the last meeting such topics as the place of the railroad in the community plan, problems of public safety, and municipal finance were discussed.

On the Pacific coast a number of institutes on international relations have been held on university campuses. Under the auspices of the Los Angeles University International Relations, which is affiliated with the University of Southern California, a series of semi-annual conferences on international affairs with specific reference to Pacific and Oriental problems have been held at the various western universities.

Foreign affairs and American diplomacy was the theme of a three-day conference held at Louisiana State University several years ago. The University of Georgia has held two-day Institutes of Public Affairs, Emory University has held annual Institutes of Citizenship, the University of Chattanooga has held an Institute of Justice, and political issues of the day have been the subject discussed at the Commonwealth Conferences held annually at the State University of Iowa until 1928 and biennially since then.

Through the stimulation and financial backing of Chester D. Pugsley, an ardent champion of international good-will and undertaking, a number of conferences have recently been established.

For two years now a two-day Conference on International Relations has been held at Yale, and Princeton has held two four-day conferences, last year on the Administration of Justice and this year on the Press. MacMurray College, formerly the Illinois Woman's College, has held two Institutes on Pan American Relations, each lasting a week, while Earlham College has for the past two years held a three-day Institute of Polity. All these conferences have been held during the academic year and have been participated in by the college students as well as visitors to the campus.

Another very significant movement in which the colleges of the country are cooperating is the international exchange of students, involving in many instances fellowships and other financial assistance.

A dominating idea behind these foreign study opportunities for American students is to make it possible for America to broaden her horizon and to promote international goodwill through a better mutual understanding between the United States and foreign countries. That the furtherance of this ideal is being realized is clearly manifest in the activities of those who have returned after an enjoyment of these opportunities, and in the increasing breadth of vision and interest in international affairs on the part of our people generally and of our youth particularly.

The same results accrue from the opportunities offered the young intellectuals of the different foreign countries to come to the United States to observe and to learn at first hand American culture and American university methods. The presence of these foreign students in an American student body operates very effectively in weakening the national and race prejudices which have grown out of limited experience.

These are typical instances of the large number of opportunities that are being provided in the effort to face squarely the need for greater mutual understanding among nations and for the appreciation of each other's merits. The colleges are endeavoring to do their bit in this great field of work "to promote peace and goodwill on earth."

The eighth contribution to a symposium on "The Coming World Order," edited by Archie M. Palmer.

DAVID STARR JORDAN ON WORLD PEACE

THE Peace of Force demands that each and all shall be fully armed. Before it is the vision of universal discord, held in check by fear.

The Peace of Law looks forward to universal order. In the long run it has no need of force, for with advancing civilization rises the power of self-control, in peace and friendliness, the final glory of men and nations.

Wars do not come by accident nor without warning, nor are they dispensations of an uncontrollable Providence. A war is a form of world sickness. It affects for ill every function of civilization. It is brought on by human blundering, and it is quite as amenable to sanitation as to any other form of human disorder.

No tiniest organism lives to itself alone. In the conjugation of cells in one-celled creatures, and in the suggestion by which complex forms have been gradually evolved, we recognize a process of harmonious cooperation which ascends in continuous series to the incalculable complexity of the human brain.

In such a cooperation towards common ends or to meet common needs, even among the lowest animals, we note the stirrings of the abiding principle of altruism. This reaches its human height in family love. The broadening and intensification of altruism is as much inherent in the universe as the movement of planets and electrons. Do we then find in love the master key?

True religion concerns our relation to each other and to the unseen and unmeasured powers surrounding us, the "infinite conscious intelligence" which envelopes or constitutes the universe. The beginnings of religion, like those of science, are crude and narrow. They are born in human fear of the unknown and intangible, rise up through reverence to ideas of duty, and culminate in helpfulness and purity. Religions die, religion never.

WORLD CITIZENSHIP AND EXTERRITORIALITY

by

CARL A. ROSS

Attorney

BETWEEN the nations of today, politically, there seems to be a "no-man's-land," exterritoriality, where danger lurks; it is bordered by nationalism, the Olympian god of 1931, worshipped by jingo and pacifist alike. The high seas is a place where each sovereign attempts to exercise certain exterritorial rights. For England it means that English law must be recognized in "no-man's-land" of exterritoriality, that is, the individual Englishman can claim its favors when in conflict with other nationals. For Germany, that German law must be recognized as determining the rights of ships, cargoes, crews and passengers; for the United States, that our laws, as interpreted by our officials, must be recognized as binding on all nationals abroad for business or pleasure. The sea power of Great Britain boasts that it protects British goods and subjects everywhere on the face of the globe, yes a little better than other nations protect their national interests; again exterritoriality, the boast being that English law is supreme exterritorially. China, a backward nation according to our standards, heretofore has been induced, in ways we need not now discuss, to grant the United States and other nations certain concessions or rights to have their citizens respectively protected by exterritorial courts and to be free from the jurisdiction of native courts. China has now cancelled this system, just as Turkey abolished it some years ago. Before we go farther we should note that exterritoriality is merely a struggle over the right to govern and protect the individual citizen or private property on the assumption that it is the business of government to so do; also exterritoriality appears to be needed because of a breakdown of justice as administered through diplomatic channels.

Russia is embroiled with almost every nation because she pushes alleged exterritorial rights at home and abroad to a point not sanctioned by what we call international law. To visiting nationals and foreign capital and foreign goods within her realm, she denies the equal protection customarily granted elsewhere. Here again exterritoriality means that the U. S. S. R. assumes to govern and control the individual and the private property of other nationals without going through diplomatic channels. The Union of Soviets also denies other nations the like rights as to Soviet nationals who go or are sent abroad. Soviet foreign policy not only says that other nations must not attempt to control visiting Soviet nationals, but goes further and through her accredited diplomatic agents secretly seeks to retain control of her nationals while in other lands even to the extent of directing them to plot to overthrow such foreign government. Among nations the U. S. S. R. is truly an outlaw, with her there is no such thing, as "exterritoriality," Sovietism alone is supreme; whether at home or abroad, Sovietism is universal, Sovietism does not recognize any government as such, it recognizes only the individual. Likewise we have recently had striking disclosures that Fascism has a like contempt for the comity of nations, in refusing to relinquish control of Italian nationals who have come to this country and become duly naturalized. This is because Italian law as exterritorially interpreted by Mussolini fails to agree with our interpretation and of course we are right, as, in Italy, Mussolini is right. The Chinese and Japanese are accused of a like disregard of this phase of international law; ask California if she agrees to her Chinese and Japanese being ruled from their homeland in accordance with Oriental interpretation of exterritoriality?

Let us pass to another phase of this exterritorial control of the person of the citizen. What are our mandates except exterritorial control of the individual? Mandates may be said to have saved the day at Versailles for the League. What was the attitude of the typically loyal subject of England to Wilson's League proposals? "We English in our relations to other League members, consider the League useful in dealing with many international issues, but this *imperium in imperio* kind of government would not be tol-

erated where our national interests are vitally concerned—in Egypt, for example." Patriots accept the League if it will allow them to control the citizens—the only proper objects of government—in those lands where the comity of nations acknowledges that they have "special interests." It makes little difference whether the "mandate" is one formally authorized by the League or one assumed over Haiti under our Monroe Doctrine or one exercised by Great Britain over the Suez Canal, it all amounts to the same thing, that is, by this doctrine of the comity of nations the domestic laws of some strong, virile nation suddenly become effective exterritorially over some weaker nation, so that the strong sovereign wielding the mandate can put his hand directly on the shoulder of of the individual in the mandated realm and say: "I, a foreigner, arrest you! Come to my court and I will give you justice, my justice, the comity of nations authorizes me to do this and the native government here is powerless or has agreed that I may so do!" Is not this the modern, effective way the strong nations are doing in 1931 to protect their citizens plowing in foreign gardens? All available foreign gardens are now parcelled out in this way to some strong nation and the comity of nations means that the strong sovereigns try to agree with one another as to their respective "spheres of influence." The result is that the Frenchman, so far as he does business in Iraq, is protected by English exterritorial law, while the Englishman, so far as he does business in Morocco, is protected by French exterritorial law controlling the individual without recourse to diplomacy. The recent pronouncement of the American State Department regarding Nicaragua shows, however, a retreat from the older "imperialist" attitude.

Instead of securing a mandate, why are not diplomatic relations entered into directly with the native sovereign? If you will answer this question you will come to the reason why the League of Nations is weak, why all our other peace plans are failing to accomplish what is fondly hoped for them. "League," "Locarno," "Kellogg Pact," "World Court," every one connotes "nations" and at the same time excludes or debars the "individual," "the persons of the citizens—the only proper objects of government." Continuing

from the Federalist, we find the same conditions confronted America in 1789.

"It is true that facts, too stubborn to be resisted, have produced a species of general assent to the abstract proposition that there exist material defects in our national system; but the usefulness of the concession is destroyed by a strenuous opposition to a remedy, upon the only principles that can give it a chance of success. While they admit that the government is destitute of energy, they contend against conferring upon it those powers which are requisite to supply that energy. They seem still to aim at things repugnant and irreconcilable; at an augmentation of federal authority, without a diminution of State authority; at sovereignty in the Union and complete independence in the members. They still, in fine, seem to cherish with blind devotion the political monster of an *imperium in imperio.* This renders a full display of the principle defects of the Confederation necessary, in order to show that the evils we experience do not proceed from minute or partial imperfections, but from fundamental errors in the structure of the building, which cannot be amended otherwise than by an alteration in the first principles and main pillars of the fabric.

"The great and radical vice in the construction of the existing Confederation," (as in 1931 peace plans), "is the principle of *legislation for States or Governments,* in their *corporate* or *collective capacities,* and as contradistinguished from the *individuals* of which they consist."

Like the League, the Confederation connoted the sovereign nation and debarred the individual. The Articles of Confederation read: "Each State retains full sovereignty, freedom and independence." The Continental Congress could not reach the individual, like the League it could reach its sovereign members only; it could request, it could advise them, nothing more. The then thirteen States were enamoured of their exterritorial rights just as the nations of 1931 cling to them. The Articles were merely an attempt to force reconciliation of the various exterritorial rights of the thirteen States, each of which retained the essential primary power over "the persons of the citizens—the only proper objects of govern-

ment." Wherein are the League, the Kellogg Pact and the World Court superior to the Confederation? Can they do aught but "request" and "advise"? Do not the sovereign nations retain the only governmental power, the rule over "the persons of the citizens—the only proper objects of government?" What more does the League, the Kellogg Pact or the World Court envisage than a forced reconciliation of the exterritorial rights of the adhering members? The League does not seek control over the domestic or internal phases of government; like the Continental Congress these peace institutions seek to legislate only in matters that to any one nation are exterritorial.

The reader may concede this point and urge that more power be granted the League, the Kellogg Pact and the World Court till they are able to force such a reconciliation of the exterritorial rights of all nations. What then? We reply that "while they admit that the government is destitute of energy, they contend against conferring upon it those powers which are requisite to supply that energy. They still seem to cherish with blind devotion the political monster of an *imperium in imperio.*" The progressives so far have failed to acknowledge that the great and radical vice in the construction of their peace projects "is the principle of *legislation for States or Governments,* in their *corporate* or *collective capacities,* and as contradistinguished from the *individuals* of which they consist." Statesmen and publicists, jingoes and pacifists alike, seem to have an eye blind to this Hamiltonian doctrine when they look at the League and the World Court, but when they look at Mandates their eye is no longer blind, with a clear vision they see the need of dealing directly with "the persons of the citizens—the only proper objects of government."

The next step to consider is how may this Hamiltonian doctrine be applied; how can the League, the Kellogg Pact and the World Court be revised to apply this remedy? The establishment of world citizenship by the people themselves is the Hamiltonian answer and, we conceive, the only logical answer. By such a course the League and the World Court could easily become vital institutions, but institutions that would prove no more antagonistic to the nation mem-

bers than our constitution proved inimical to the interests of the thirteen States. In general the League machinery properly revised would include the legislative and executive departments, while the World Court would become the judicial department of this new Union. The Kellogg Pact would be absorbed, not verbatim, but by this new process. A covenant to renounce war between the thirteen States, were it embodied in our constitution, would be an anachronism, because that is what our constitution *in toto* amounts to, and when the machinery is created to carry out and execute the Kellogg Pact, that machinery will create another Union based on the individual as the unit of representation and the mere words of renunciation will disappear, the vital idea will have become an active controlling process.

World Citizenship assumes a World State, popularly called a "Super-State" and those advocating such a program are scornfully referred to as "Internationalists," advocates of something not only visionary, but of something inimical to true American interests; forsooth, an internationalist is almost a traitor to his country! We concede there is some truth in this assertion since to most people the word "internationalist" implies one willing to grant the power of force to the League, to the World Court, to the Kellogg Pact, so they may become effective institutions. This is an attempt to make an *imperium in imperio* effective by granting power, but when the character of the power to be granted is carefully considered, such an internationalist finds he is advocating more power to a foreign institution to make war on his fatherland, and surely this is hardly patriotic. But need internationalism be of this traitorous brand? In 1789 was a voter in Massachusetts a traitor to Massachusetts because he voted for internationalism in the form of our constitution giving our super-government jurisdiction in exterritorial matters over the "persons of the citizens—the only proper objects of government?" With equal reason we may say the voter was not a visionary. Thus there appears to be another "internationalism" founded by our most illustrious constitutional patriots, establishing "the persons of the citizens, as the only proper objects of government" and thereby doing away with an *imperium in imperio,* an abortive government.

It is internationalism of this American brand, perhaps better called "Unionism" that we are contending for.

In an earlier article we endeavored to show that a World Union, or Super-State, would be an effective peace institution provided it was based on the individual, in place of the nation, as the unit of representation and established law as an effective sanction in place of war, its written constitution becoming a supreme law of the land throughout the extent of the new Union. In a recent article, we endeavored to show that such a course would not mean the establishment of such a strong super-government that the nations adhering to it would be done away with. The World Union would be a government largely *federal,* or composed of the nations each retaining its chief domestic functions and characteristics, yet *national,* or having original jurisdiction of the "persons of its citizens" in respect to those questions over which its constitution established control. We are now endeavoring to show that the extent of this control would be confined to the field of exterritoriality, that it would not interfere with domestic or internal matters. The work of the foreign department of the United States has developed manyfold since our constitution reorganized it in 1789. The same is true of all other progressive nations, a new set of exterritorial problems having grown up outside domestic control and they are now demanding some more effective solution than diplomacy is able to give. These problems are inherent in world business and the United States cannot occupy its commanding position without accepting numerous and grave exterritorial responsibilities. The leading European nations are in the same position and the result is that the foreign departments of all progressive, self-governing nations are overloaded and are breaking down. It is becoming apparent that the League group of institutions, as now organized, are not able to afford such relief as is needed and we contend it is because they form an *imperium in imperio* kind of government instead of a government based on "the persons of the citizens—the only proper objects of government." Give the super-government control of the individual in exterritorial matters and diplomacy may take a holiday; to secure redress of a private wrong on the high seas or any-

where "abroad" no longer would it be necessary for the political roosters of any nation to crow defiance to the political roosters of the offending nation. The police or the sheriff of the Union would be able to adopt the mandate method, he would put his hand on the shoulder of any individual throughout this extended realm and say, "Come with me to our World Court, one of our other World Citizens is complaining of you in a matter formerly considered exterritorial, you are to answer him in this World Court, your own court, and you both will receive our common justice under our World Constitution, which you both have helped to make the supreme law of our World Union."

Surrendering control of these exterritorial questions to a World Empire would not mean that this Union had taken over and assumed any functions now classed as "domestic" or "internal" from the point of view of adhering nations and under these circumstances can anyone work up a rational fear over the *people* of United States pooling their exterritorial problems with the *people* of Europe provided nationalism is left out? Why should not nationalism be left out, why should it not fade away or merge in a consciousness of a new and honorable internationalism? After 1789 the thirteen States largely forgot their old nationalism in the consciousness of Union, they took pride in their super-government. We believe the people of 1931 would be proud of their world citizenship; that they would make what concessions were necessary to harmonize the new machinery with the old.

At this point we wish to answer another American objection to internationalism, the brand we are contending for. When all other arguments fail, our opponents thoughtlessly fall back on our traditional policy of isolation. These people cannot conceive of any peace plan that includes America and Europe without this plan violating the cardinal principle of American foreign policy, based on Washington's Farewell Address and enunciated by Jefferson in the following language. "Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none." They argue that the voters have stuck to this policy for more than a century and there is no sign that the people are now changing their views. They point

out that America is peopled largely by Europeans who dislike the government of their homeland and came here as a means of escape. Why, they ask, should such Americans support any peace institution by which the United States would become involved in joint action with any European nation? But the brand of internationalism we are contending for, the form of institution or government we would set up, does not permit the United States to take any joint action, nor make any treaty; treaties to establish peace are abhorrent to us. We fully agree with this policy of isolation for the government of United States. We believe our constitution was made for America and that we cannot stretch it by peace treaty to make it cover any of Europe. The Union we are contending for presumes no alliance between any nations as such, in fact all nations adhering to this Union would be required to amend their fundamental law so that it would be virtually impossible for them to form any such alliance. World Citizenship under a super-government based on the individual citizen involves no new treaty between United States and any other sovereign, no entangling alliances whatever; the very basis of the Union forbids it. Did the adoption of our constitution in 1789 result in entangling alliances between the thirteen States? No, rather it freed the States from entangling alliances regarding matters before exterritorial, leaving each State to continue its full control in domestic matters. So a World State properly based on the individual would mean the severance and nullification of many troublesome treaties which now in a cumbersome way attempt to regulate some of our perplexing exterritorial problems. Joint action by sovereign nations through peace treaties cannot provide an adequate basis for handling exterritorial questions when they grow to the volume now obtaining between the progressive nations of the world, and if we envisage the future, the increase coming as a result of our instantaneous communication and air transportation, we see all the more need of removing these exterritorial business squabbles from the field of diplomacy, of divorcing them from nationalism and making individual directly responsible to individual.

SYRIA

'Round the World Log of a Sociologist—IX

by

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IN the Eastern world in which I now live there seems to be only one major problem—that of getting rid of alien rule. One may see what he goes after, but this is a question that one would find it difficult to escape if he looked at all under the surface in any of the countries we have visited.

It is an old problem in Syria, but new in its present form. Syria was ruled by the Turks for four hundred years, and before that there was never a political entity or independence. Now the goats are the French. On account of the missionary activities of the Jesuits there was a kind of French influence here for many years before the War. Enough, so that they told the King-Crane Commission sent here by President Wilson that they wanted the mandate given to anyone except the French—America first, and Great Britain second, the French last. The Peace Conference did not let that report interfere with French plans. It is probable that if the impossible had happened, and America had taken the mandate, that it would by this time be hated as much as that of the French, though there would have been different things done here by us. Each alien ruler has its peculiar brand of faults.

The English are characterized by an appearance of personal snobbishness, that is deliberately cultivated to overawe the natives, and it works for a long time because it gives them confidence and is impregnable, but when the bluff is called there is likely to be a big tumble. That is happening in China and India and is approaching in several other places. While they are autocratic in their rule, their confidence in themselves is such that they give great personal

liberty. Ordinarily there is freedom to curse them in speech and press. They give attention to sanitation, and somewhat to education, and in general their courts are just, but their aloofness never varies.

The French, on the other hand, have no personal superiority. They intermarry with any race, and lose no standing by it. Their courts have a bad reputation, and they give more attention to roads and grand buildings than to education or sanitation. They take great and scholarly interest in archeological research, but there is something which makes them more disliked than the English. I think it is the constant evidence of military rule, and the militaristic restrictions on freedom. They are more afraid of criticism. One Arab paper in Beirut has been suspended since I have been there for the publication of a poem. A man who called on me yesterday is not permitted to speak at a public meeting. In Palestine the British have provided not a bit of democratic rule, but the people feel freer than here where there is the semblance of complete self-government, but the control at the top makes the people very unhappy with the result that the phenomenon of nationalism is progressing by leaps and bounds. I think that there are very few persons without its virus.

Syria is a peculiar country. The Phoenecians, Greeks and Romans ruled it in turn for centuries, but except for architectural ruins seem to have left little impression. Although there must be a good deal of mixture of blood with the various conquerors, the Syrians themselves feel that they are the purest of the Arabs. There was once a language called Syriac and there are a few small villages remaining where it is spoken, but now Arabic is the language of the people and there is a good deal of energy put into its purification and modernization.

Geographically there is no accepted boundary of Syria. The north properly begins where the Turks live and that is accepted. While the desert separated Syria from Iraq for ages it has not indicated a real boundary for the people on both sides have been just the same and have always been in relation. To the south, Transjordania and Palestine have always been linked with Syria, though there may be reasons for drawing a line between them.

The unique problem of Syria comes from the religious diversity. The Christians who are divided into several sects antedate the Islamic period. The Muslims who comprise about eighty-five per cent of the whole of Syria are just under half of those in the area known as the Lebanon, of which Beirut is the capital.

The Greek Orthodox and Maronite sects which are very old do not present an enlightened aspect of Christianity. Even under the Turks, however, they had a relative autonomy and their ecclesiastical heads were therefore of political importance. The Roman Catholics have been the product of French missionaries. These various Christian sects have had much conflict among themselves, but from the Muslims they have all received bitter treatment, with occasional extensive massacres. This has made them turn to outside powers for protection and the French have furnished it.

In 1860 there was an anti-Christian outbreak which Baedeker says was the result of the feeling aroused by the Indian mutiny, but one student of Syrian history says that it would be hard to trace the connection. There are people alive to whom that demonstration is still vivid, and however much the Muslims may have changed their attitude, they continue to create fear. This makes the Christians incline with favor to the presence of the French. Since the non-Muslims are largely in the Lebanon that has long been administered with a degree of autonomy and now has been set up as a Republic with its own coinage and postage stamps which, however, are uniform with the rest of Syria.

Although the people of the Lebanon are as nationalistic as those of the rest of Syria and for a unified Syria, yet all of those with whom I have talked, both Lebanese and Syrians, agree that the autonomy of Lebanon will have to continue indefinitely.

Among the non-Christians there are also divisions. There are a few described as "Devil worshipers." The Muslims are divided into Sunnis and Shias, the former in much larger numbers, and although they despise each other both are true Muslims. Then there are the Druzes who split from the Muslims more than a thousand years ago and have developed a highly organized religious, ethical and social system. They are mountaineers and great fighters whose

semi-independence was provided for even by the Turks. They were the leaders of the revolution of 1925 against the French.

The French may have been acting with the greatest possible wisdom or they may have had sinister purpose in the attention which they have given to the various divisions. Each of the major groups is allowed representation as groups in the elections. The Protestants, however, being small must join other groups, and may not elect a Protestant representative.

Last week* the new constitution was proclaimed by the High Commissioner and it has aroused a great deal of feeling. It provides for four states: the Lebanon; Syria, of which Damascus is the capital; Jebel Druze which is in the mountains, and at present has a military government; and the Alouites. There are bases for such administrative divisions, but the belief is that the French have made these separations deliberately for the purpose of dividing the people so as to control them more easily. It is clear that it will work the other way and drive them together. Some say that there will be a united Syria in five years, and in twenty-five the French will be gone.

All agree that there has been no force other than the presence of the French that could have brought the divergent peoples together so rapidly. Even yet, while there are some for absolute independence, the general feeling seems to be that the French are needed and will be for some time, but that their methods should be greatly modified.

There are two other forces of great importance: the automobile and the pan-Arab movement.

There has been no modern invention that has had a social influence comparable to the automobile. In the well organized countries of the west it has had an importance, but in the isolated areas of Asia its influence is revolutionary. In China it is just beginning. In India it has made greater headway, and here in the Near East with England and France furnishing the drive to the building of roads, it is of incalculable importance. Everywhere the bus seems to come first, and then private cars. Here in Syria there are many garages and the preference is to get a seat in one of the

* June, 1930.

touring cars which start as soon as they are filled, and you never have to wait long for one.

The Pan-Arab movement is likely to grow to great importance and already has a stronger hold on the Arabs than pan-Islam. The Indian situation is having some influence on this. The Arabs all feel that England betrayed them in going back on the promises that Lawrence had made them for which they fought the Turks. For this reason they are following the Indian revolution very closely, and I am told almost unanimously condemn the Indian Muslims for not throwing themselves in with Gandhi.

There is this to be said for the Pan-Arab idea which is really not "pan," because the Egyptians, while Arabs, are interested primarily in the nationalism of Egypt, and those of northern Africa are looked down upon by the Arabs of Asia, partly because they have submitted to the French in Algiers, and partly because they do not use good Arabic. In Asia, however, there are Syria, Iraq, Palestine, Transjordania, and Arabia, embracing some thirty million people, all of whom have more Arab than either Islamic or nationalistic consciousness. The ultimate political organization is vague in their minds, and there is only one possible leader, Ibn Sa'oud, king of Nedj and Hejaz. He is a very outstanding personality, and though he is the leader of the most fanatical sect of the Muslims, the Wahabis, he himself knows how to get on with his subjects and how to deal with outsiders. However, he has never been outside Arabia and does not have a modern education. It is inconceivable that he should become the ruler of such a comparatively modern country as Syria, but he certainly has the respect of the Syrians while at the present distance. King Feisal is a much more modern man but he does not captivate the imagination of the people, and in his administration he has worked too well with the English to permit Arab support.

The present appearance of nationalism among the Arabs and in certain divisions of the Arabs is something new under the sun. For the first time in Islam, religion falls into a second place. Egypt is the first expression of this. The Egyptians relegate both religion and Arabism to second place as compared to their national feeling,

and the general reaction to the Indian Muslims shows the change of attitude in Arabia.

There is a sound basis for the Arab position in common language and culture, and in geographical unity. The economic hardships of the present moment is laid in part to the unnatural breaking up into tariff areas of what under the Turkish empire had been organized as one economic unit.

Another change that has taken place is the reconciliation of different religious groups in the pan-Arab movement. Two students came to talk with me about the problem, one was a Palestinian Muslim, and the other an Iraq Christian. If anything, the Christian had stronger Arab feeling. In Damascus the accepted leader of the nationalist movement is a Protestant. Judging from my observation of many other countries this indicates that the movement is reaching a stage where an explosion may be expected.

The last day we were in Damascus there was a demonstration against the new constitution. Every store in the city was closed, and when I went to see why the automobile we had ordered for returning to Beirut did not come, I found that all chauffeurs were on strike. The police were stationed everywhere and no group of more than five were allowed to gather. A meeting had been called in a private house. The police were on guard with the fire department and the meeting in that house was not allowed, but the people went to another and passed their resolutions which were very bitter against the French government, complaining among other things that they had not been allowed to hold the meeting.

If I had been asked to advise the French government I think I should have said to make just such divisions as they did, for there were historical and cultural reasons for making separate administrative units of relatively uniform cultural areas. The result is bound to be the exact opposite of what was intended simply because the French are responsible for it. The suspicion which is a common belief is that it was done for the sake of creating a condition in which it is easier to rule a divided people.

One of the difficulties in analysing a situation like this is that the strength of an emotion is no measure of the value of that against

which it is directed. The deep feelings of Wets and Drys, or Democrats and Republicans towards each other are just as all-absorbing as a nationalistic hatred, and in both kinds there is an exaggeration of facts to support the arguments.

The good the French have done here is of two sorts; the actual introduction of much that is modern, especially good roads, and many technical ideas; second, the unity which is growing out of antagonism to the French. For both they are needed a little longer. Formerly it was felt that the English or the Americans would be better, but the English have lost standing because of the betrayal of promises to Lawrence, and now it is felt that no one from the West is wanted.

We spent a day at the University at Damascus. This I think will become a most important factor in the Arab development. Damascus is a very ancient educational center, and religiously is still most important. The mosque is one of the largest and most revered in all Islam. Pilgrims on their way to Mecca visit it. The location of Damascus on the Hejaz railroad and on the edge of the desert connecting by automobile with Iraq makes it very accessible.

The University is only ten years old except the medical department which comes down from Turkish days. In the beginning it was of secondary grade, but within the last two years has been much improved and will progress rapidly. An appeal might be made to rich Syrians outside of Syria to give money for its upbuilding, making the appeal definitely to Arab consciousness. So far the only possibility of a modern education has been abroad or at the American University at Beirut, but with the great interest that is now developing in the Arabic language it is unnatural and impossible that education should be continued popularly in a foreign language.

Damascus is an interesting city, but it takes only a few hours to see the places of historical authenticity. It is strange that the city which has the reputation of being the oldest continuously inhabited city in the world should have so few monuments. I imagine that there are older cities in China. We spent five days in Damascus, and saw a few interesting people. We were invited to tea at one

fine house. The Minister of Education was also a guest, and the conversation on our part was carried on in French and English. Our host knew only English and Arabic, and the Minister, only French and Arabic. There were no ladies present except my wife. After the sumptuous tea the host asked Bessie if she would not like to meet his wife and he took her into the ladies' quarter. In Damascus all the ladies are veiled and all the men wear fezes, but there was one Muslim girl who graduated from the university last year, and the dean of the medical school said that so far they had not been able to get Muslim girls for nurses, but now some are in training, and that in three years he expected that the problem would be solved.

In my speeches I have said that they could not hope to be fully on their feet until some women had emerged as leaders. I quote China, India and Turkey as examples of countries in which the women had been quite as repressed as here, but where in the present movements many women were in prominent leadership. There is as yet no sign of such women here, though progress in their emancipation is going on rapidly.

While Syria is a national unit and will inevitably retain some sort of unity there will certainly be a federation in the not distant future in which the various Arab units are together. At the present moment a committee of the League of Nations is coming to Jerusalem to look into the matter of the Wailing Wall problem. Two leading Muslims have come to Beirut and are going to Damascus to consult Muslims there to see what shall be the common position they are to take on that matter.

A new factor in the Syrian problem has come from the Armenian refugees of whom there about a hundred and fifty thousand. They were first concentrated in several places of which Beirut had over fifty thousand; now reduced to thirty thousand or less. There are tendencies which indicate some similarities to the Jewish problem in Palestine. The long history of persecution of the Armenians has given them characteristics which have long been recognized as difficult, and now they have something of the refugee psychology. They are more energetic than the Arabs, and when they get a foot-

hold they succeed remarkably well, which makes some jealousy. I am told that when everything is quiet they are unmolested, but there is danger that they might be subject to attack in time of disturbance. The Government has a policy of distributing them more widely so that they may become absorbed. They will, however, for a long time be an unassimilable element.

The Hejaz railroad was built the early part of the century by the Sultan Abdul Hamed by money which he secured by contributions from Muslims all over the world. It was to go to Mecca to make the pilgrimages easier, and was built as far as Medina, going through Syria and Palestine. It is now becoming more and more a factor in both Muslim and Arab consciousness. There are seven hundred kilometers of it south of Palestine in the territory of Ibn Sa'oud, all of which has been idle since the war because portions of it were destroyed in Lawrence's campaign. The Syrian and Palestinian parts are administered as separate units by the local governments, but the Muslims insist that it belongs to them and was not a proper spoil of war, the more because the Arabs had been instrumental in the defeat of the Turks. The importance of its whole use is very great and there are now activities on foot to do something about it.

The influence of the Indian rebellion is going to have very far reaching effects. I have mentioned the interest in Gandhi which I find here. I have just read that in Indo-China, where it seemed to me in January that trouble was brewing, they have started a non-resistance campaign and the refusal to pay taxes. Here one of the nationalist leaders said that the idea of not paying taxes would probably soon be tried. It is hard to imagine Arabs and Muslims following a campaign of non-violence, but some of the technic will be tried. They are also beginning to talk about boycott. A man yesterday with much pride called my attention to the fact that his shirt and necktie had been made in Syria, and said that there would soon be a boycott of French goods. This will be a very serious blow, for since there cannot be, under a mandate, any preferential tariff, the French market has been built up by underselling others and they have most of the trade in common articles of use. A violent

outbreak will be futile since the last one was put down with so much ruthlessness that another is not immediately likely.

Syria, with less than half the population of Ohio, is not in itself much of a matter in world affairs except that there is a good deal of sentiment about it because of its connection with Palestine, but as an element in the whole awakening and revolt of the Near East it is of great importance. The Arabs say that at one time they were leaders of civilization and though they admit that they have fallen behind they have full confidence that they can again catch up and that they do not need overlordship to enable them to do it. This attitude in itself will be a powerful force in their awakening.

THE CHALLENGE OF WORLD UNEMPLOYMENT

by

NORMAN ANGELL

Member of Parliament, Editor of "Foreign Affairs"

(Concluded)

If you go into a certain mountain region of Vermont you may come upon the empty house and buildings of a large farm which has been simply abandoned by its owners. It could be acquired today at the cost of the small taxes due upon it. There are many such cases in New England and the Maritime Provinces of Canada. Yet once that abandoned soil supported in relative affluence a large family consisting of the parents, thirteen children and two "poor relations." It supported them in comfort, though the tools they used to wrest their sustenance from nature were crude and primitive to the point of barbarism compared with the tools available for our use. Where we use steam and electricity, harvesters, tractors, separators, they used human muscle, the yoked oxen, the flail and the scythe. Yet they were all well fed, well clothed, well housed, well warmed. Want, in the physical sense, was unknown. The farm, much more remote than it is today, was practically self-sufficing. The family produced all their own food, including the flour for the bread which was ground in a neighbor's mill for a proportion of the grain; their soap and candles were made from the fat of the sheep that grazed on the mountain sides; from the wool their clothing; from the apples of the orchard, their "hard" cider (and harder applejack). The house was built by the family itself, as also was nearly every stick of furniture. Several generations so lived and died on that farm, and though sometimes a whole generation might pass that practically never saw coined money, there were none that were ever hungry, that were ever shelterless. They lived, as similar self-sufficient communities, not only on frontier farms, but in mon-

astery and manor, had lived for century on century before them.

And they never knew unemployment in the sense in which we use that term. If there was leisure—which was seldom—they rejoiced. But never did they face that tragic yet absurd paradox which is the essence of the situation we face: suffering from lack of the fruits of the earth because those fruits are too plentiful. If there was more grain than could be used at once, it was stored; or they raised a few more hogs; if apples, made a little more cider against the time when those things might be scarce. If a neighbor had proposed to "dump" grain upon them for nothing, they would have rejoiced, with the knowledge that it would save much weary labor of man and beast in ploughing, reaping and flailing. But note that, nevertheless, *the farm is abandoned.*

The generation which grew up in the early years of this century turned westward, and went either as owners, tenants, or hands, to farms in the Dakotas, or to mines in Montana or Pennsylvania, and there used tools of power and efficiency of which their Vermont forbears could not have dreamed; tools which had behind them the power of many oxen, which gave to the men who used them the strength of fabled giants.

With this result: the twentieth century Dakota farmer, whose power over nature had made the soil so much more fruitful, struggled perpetually with loss, ruin, and bankruptcy: the greater the power of his tools and the consequent efficiency of his labor and fruitfulness of the soil, the poorer did he seem to become. These marvels of invention and of scientific discovery neither lightened his toil, added to his security, nor lessened his anxiety; while those of the family who went as "hands" into the Idaho or Montana mines met unemployment, hardships, insecurity, which were just as evil. The latter talked of "wage slavery" and capitalist exploitation. But note that the brothers who took to farming in the Dakotas, owned the land they tilled: they were capitalists. But the mere ownership of land and capital made extremely little difference to their helplessness. In a sense they were more helpless than the "wage slaves:" at the mercy of forces beyond their control.

Why were the twentieth century generation with their superior

tools, and greater power over the forces of nature, immensely greater productiveness, less secure of livelihood—whatever other advantages they might enjoy—than their Vermont forebears with their all but barbaric equipment?

What had happened was that producer and consumer were no longer one. The producer was no longer his own market, knowing exactly what that market required and would require. Coordinations of needs to be supplied and means of supplying them, of jobs needing to be done and workers to do them, which in Vermont had been completely under control, had, by the elaboration of the division of labor got beyond control. When, in Vermont, wheat or maize was planted and harvested, the family knew, since it was mainly for their own consumption, that their labor would not be wasted; that they could count upon its "sale" (to themselves) at a remunerative "price." But in the Dakotas, when ten years' savings were invested in planting some two or three thousand acres to wheat, with costly machinery to be paid for from the money proceeds, something happening in Paris or Moscow, or Buenos Aires, might render the value of the crop less than the sum spent in harvesting and planting it. (As it might equally, of course, make the farmer's fortune.) The equilibrium necessary to insure the remunerative value of his crops was utterly beyond the twentieth century farmer's control.

Now, it is not suggested that we should go back to the self-sufficiency of the frontier farm. Despite its rough plenty it represented a very low standard of life (though not as low, on the one described, as that of, for instance, Lincoln's boyhood). The intricate, unmanageable money economy of 1931, with all its hazards of unemployment, has achieved liberations that are worth the cost. To solve the problems created by the use of better tools (and in those tools I include, of course, money and credit, and the division of labor), of more power over nature, by going back to poor tools and low standards, is to admit defeat, to give up the ghost, though it is precisely that remedy which is usually most popular.

A modern motor car is more efficient than the rude carts which preceded it; but it requires greater special mechanical knowledge to

run it and keep it in running order. "The economic apparatus" of the Vermont farm of 1831 had a low standard of productivity; but it was easy to run; it was uncomplicated by the money device; the necessary adjustments by which all were kept at work were well within the control of the community concerned. It was because these adjustments—of production to consumption, and consumption to production, of time available, to jobs that needed doing; of the special capacity of this or that individual to this or that special task—were so much more controllable than with us, that, though the tools were primitive, human industry never met the paradox so familiar to us, that the more we (the community, which is now the world) produce, the more risk do we run of utter poverty and ruin.

THE BREAKDOWN OF LAISSEZ-FAIRE

So far we have agreement. So much so, indeed, that the reader will probably describe the foregoing as elementary and platitudinous. It may be; but we refuse persistently to face the all-but self-evident conclusion. What is that conclusion?

If the high productivity of our community is to be as well adapted to our needs as was the low productivity of the 1831 Vermont family to theirs, then we must learn to apply to the work of our national family of 1931 the kind of control and adjustment (though necessarily so much more complicated) that the 1831 family applied to theirs: we, too, must manage somehow to adjust in far greater measure than we do production to consumption, so organize as to make more efficiently the contacts of buyer and seller; guide more successfully than we do the man for the job and the job for the man; distribute our energies in the order of vital national need. *Laissez-faire*—again we are generally agreed—does not do it. Yet every attempt to introduce coordination by means of governmental machinery is bitterly resisted by the most powerful forces of the business and industrial world, who immediately return to the assumption that from the anarchy of unguided, undirected individual effort will somehow emerge a final economic harmony, and that the best plan is to have no plan; that while it is true that politically a community could not live without organization and plan-

ning, the worst crime economically is for the community consciously to organize itself.

The average business man is obliged, of course, to admit that the very march of invention compels regulation: When transport was by horses and carts it could be an affair of unregulated individual enterprise upon which the community had no need to impose regulation. But when railways came, their very right of existence, their franchise, became, from the start, a matter of national regulation, even to price fixing. Activities like banking have followed the same drift from being, at the first, private, individualist, uncontrolled, to become public, collective, national, controlled. But only so far as business is pushed by absolute necessity will it accept this principle, and while admitting the utter breakdown of *laissez-faire* still shouts "No governmental interference; no bureaucratic control; leave us alone."

IS NATIONAL PLANNING POSSIBLE?

The truth is that we funk—as well we may—the conclusion which results from the breakdown of *laissez-allez,* or of *laissez-faire*. For the conclusion is that the logical alternative is a consciously directed and planned and controlled economy: and the complexity of the problem appalls us. One recalls the efforts to make the necessary coordinations in one relatively small section of the industrial field, the Coal Industry: the years during which the obviousness of the chaos and the need of unification shouted aloud, but in vain, for remedy; the resistance to any real reform, the difficulty of even partial legislative action, the opposition, friction, sabotage—and then one thinks of what it would mean to multiply that a hundredfold or more. It is easy enough, it may be objected, to say: "Plan or Perish," and to talk of national planning for our national estate; but the task of centralized regulation and control of all the complex factors involved in modern industry, is we feel, so appallingly vast and difficult as to be beyond the administrative competence of any Government or economic community the world has yet known; to say nothing of the fact that much of it is an international problem. Remembering what Governments, Parliaments,

and bureaucracies are where matters of practical business management are concerned, is it any wonder, we may ask, that the business world resists any invasion of its province by those powers, and, while admitting the failure of *laissez-faire,* shrinks from its alternative and turns back to the old way?

To which the reply is, *first,* that a centralized direction and coordination no more necessarily involves interference in all the complexities of our national industry than the existence of Central Banks exercising a great deal of control necessitates interference in all the complexities of banking technic as worked by the constituent branch or member banks; *secondly,* that one of the characteristic tendencies (qualified it is true by strong resistances) within the business world itself is towards unified direction and control over fixing and market rationing arrangements, tending to extend to international cartels, so that the technic of the thing is being developed outside Governments, Parliaments, or bureaucracies; *thirdly,* that the forces which tend towards amalgamation or unification of each industry within itself fail—and must without outside help fail indefinitely perhaps—when it comes to the coordination of one industry or trade with another, necessary for correcting the maladjustments that produce unemployment; and *fourthly,* the sort of national management necessary is not only possible but has actually been applied successively in circumstances of far greater material difficulty than those which now confront us.

WE DID IT FOR WAR

The reference, of course, is to the national management which we achieved during the war. The reminder is apt to cause irritation. It is admitted that we managed miracles of production, but they were in circumstances, it is added, when cost did not count in obtaining a market since the Government—ourselves—were the market; that the method of financing could never have continued indefinitely; that much of our capital equipment was disastrously let down, and much more to the same effect.

But when all the buts are exhausted this fact remains: if tomorrow we found ourselves at war with a Great Power, unemploy-

ment would disappear; our productivity would not decline, it would increase; we should as a matter of course adopt measures of control and regulation which we do not dream of applying to a peace problem; we should put through legislation to deal with the situation which no peacetime Government could pass.

Nor need one expect ever, for any peace purpose, to see duplicated the extent of agreement on radical measures which war produces. But the experience gives us a lead, and certain indisputable truths stand out: any effective plan for dealing with the maladjustments described must be national in scope; its success will depend upon securing the same kind, though not the same degree, of willingness to cooperate with the Government which we saw during the war.

IS A CAPITALIST-SOCIALIST COOPERATION POSSIBLE?

The proposition that such a basis of cooperation can be found is not inconsistent with the belief that there is a real opposition of interest between worker and capitalist. We can accept the premise that Socialism is pledged to the replacement of the present order, and also agree that up to a given point there is a common interest. The two policies of "Socialism" and "Capitalism" are not in watertight compartments: Capitalism is being compelled by the sheer irresistible drift of things to adopt more and more of Socialism—of public control, of ever-widening coordinations. At present it resists this tendency, accepts it sulkily with resentment. But it is here suggested that there is a wide field—to be indicated more precisely presently—in which an extension of Socialism, in the sense of coordination and control, would be accepted by British industry but for the forces just described which militate against acceptance.

Given then the pre-supposition that Labor is prepared to carry its policy into effect by increasing the amount of public control over a machine which it is its object to keep running smoothly and render increasingly effective; and that industry realizes that the choice is not between retaining the old *laissez-faire,* and Communism, but between utter chaos and collapse and an orderly transformation into a new social system in which the technician, expert or business man

will have his worthy place—given this, what should be the approach of a Socialist Government to securing that better control and national coordination?

If the reader has followed the analysis so far and accepted the general conclusion pointed by the outline of "The Nature of the Problem" sketched above, he will not attach any great importance to the much-canvassed, much-discussed "public works" method of relieving public unemployment. At the very best the numbers which could be employed by those works would hardly make an impression on the gigantic figures with which we are dealing. If the Liberal Yellow Book had fulfilled all its promises and put half a million men to work, we should still have more unemployed than when the Yellow Book was written. The problem, that is, would be actually worse than when the plan was proposed.

A little arithmetic disposes of the whole thing. A million of public money would employ a thousand men for four years. To take up the "refractory" two million unemployed would demand two thousand million sterling. And the Chancellor talks of grave crises when he has to face the finding of another fifty million on the present Budget!

But even if the thing could be done, it would not solve the problem. When the roads had been made and the bridges built and the harbors deepened, the men would once more be out of employment if the system under which they work is still subject to dislocations and maladjustments which provoked the unemployment in the first instance.

In other words, these schemes do nothing to correct the deficiencies of the system out of which the trouble has arisen. The causes of the evil remain, completely unchanged. We must dig a little deeper than that.

THE MALADJUSTMENTS AND THEIR CORRECTION

The essence of the trouble, as we have seen, are certain maladjustments and disequilibria: the malajustment of production to consumption, and *vice versa,* of the number of miners available to the amount of coal needed and mined under rationalized methods

which demand fewer men. Or, there is a time lag in the investment of savings made by the rationalization, in industries which might employ the displaced men; a lag occasioned partly by the fact that people are slow to change habits and avail themselves of new devices like electrical equipment; partly also by the fact that men are slow to move from one occupation to another.

The old automatic adjustments no longer suffice; there must be conscious adjustment, with ramifications so far-reaching that only a central authority could be entrusted with it.

Take a concrete example. It was forseeable twenty years ago that the development of water-power, the coming of the internal combustion engine, the enormous push given to oil fuel, the development of foreign coalfields, would greatly diminish the demand for British coal. Anyone watching tendencies could have said that there would shortly be half a million miners, perhaps more, too many. It was a problem against which some provision at least should have been made. Who's business was it to make it? Under the present system, nobody's. It was not the mining industry's. The business of the mining industry is to mine and sell coal. But though it is not the industry's business to tackle a problem of that kind it would certainly have no objection to a Government tackling it. And had a Socialist, or Socialized Government been in power at that time, it might, under the advice of its Board of National Economy, which by its study of the trend of markets and inventions had foreseen the contingency, have taken certain measures. It might have said: the next twenty years will in any case see the enormous extension of electrification; we will accelerate that development by a process of propaganda and education which will cause it to take place in five years, with appropriate propaganda among miners themselves to induce them to go into industries other than mining; we will establish training centers; we will accelerate all the research which might result in the discovery of means by which coal could be converted into oil; and by these methods, or a combination or adaptation of them all, we will "shock absorb" the change over from coal to oil and water-power.

CONTROL THE MARKET—AND CONTROL ALL

Now the vantage point from which the changes and developments just mentioned could best be perceived is from the vantage point of the market. It is here suggested that the point at which a Socialist-Capitalist cooperation—the cooperation, that is, of a Socialist Government with capitalist organizations in possession or command of the machinery of production—could best be made, is at the point of marketing. A Socialist Government, attempting to set up some sort of control and coordination of the nation's industries, should start mainly at the point of marketing: the rationalization of the nation's markets. That is at once the point of least resistance and the point of greatest strategic power. In saying to the nation's industries: "We are going to help you sell your goods" it would appeal to the least common denominator of motives. The motive which is common to every industrialist is the desire to sell his goods. But if the Government had developed a technique by which, owing to the fact that its organization and marketing had made it in some sense an agent, in a position to bring large orders to a given industry, it would of course have power over that industry, be also in a position to bargain with it, to make conditions.

A Government which has coordinated the nation's markets has gone far to coordinate the nation's production and consumption, and to adjust the one to the other; to make those contacts the failure of which are the essential cause of unemployment.

THE QUEST FOR WORLD PEACE

THE PROBLEM OF ARMAMENTS. IV.

by

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IN my last month's article I dealt in part with the draft convention, drawn up by the Preparatory Disarmament Commission, which is to serve as a basis for the work of the General Conference, to convene next February. It must be candidly admitted, in scrutinizing this convention, that many serious controversal issues have been, not so much solved, as postponed. On the vital question of whether or not trained reserves should be counted in estimating military strength, the negative decision that was reached was by no means universally satisfactory. On the equally important question of the method of limitation, budgetary or by materiel, there is no real consensus of opinion, either.

But there are certain other principles incorporated in the draft convention, which I did not deal with a month ago, which are much more promising. For example, with certain exceptions, the convention calls for exchange of information with regard to armaments. More important still, it provides for the creation of a Permanent Disarmament Commission. The duties of this Commission would be to centralize information on disarmament, to watch over the application of the disarmament treaty, and to publish an annual report as to the manner in which the terms of the treaty are observed. In case any one of the signatory powers desired to be released from the terms of a general limitation agreement, it would be bound to notify the Permanent Commission, which would investigate the circumstances and express an opinion on the matter. In the same way, in case a complaint were made as to the violation

of the treaty, it would be for the Commission to investigate the facts and render a report. Thus the principle of international supervision of armaments is clearly written into the draft convention. This is a striking evidence of the growth of an international point of view with regard to the whole problem.

Having thus regarded the disarmament question from the point of view of detail, it will be interesting to turn to some of the larger considerations involved. What are the factors which make for the success of the projected conference? What, on the other hand, are the factors which will tend to limit its usefulness? What is the fair balance of these two elements?

On the side of optimism, the most striking fact, of course, is the existence of a serious economic depression, no less in Europe than in the United States. This depression is more serious in some countries than in others. But in virtually all the states whose armaments may today be regarded as particularly large, there is a genuine economic problem. The states of Eastern Europe are in the midst of an agricultural crisis; Italy is passing through a severe business adjustment; France, though less affected, is far less prosperous than a year ago. Economies in military and naval budgets, if not incompatible with security, would be welcomed.

To this fact must be added another. Genuine political pressure is sure to be exercised by certain states in behalf of disarmament. Mr. Arthur Henderson, who has been chosen by the Council of the League as chairman of the forthcoming conference, has again stated his conviction that the problem of armaments is fundamental to the welfare of Europe. The influence of the British government will be strenuously exerted to make the conference a success.

The President of the United States, moreover, has spoken clearly on the question of reduction. Just how his eloquent words will be translated into action is not yet clear. It has been suggested in some quarters, perhaps most notably by Senator Borah, that if this country could be convinced that Europe intended to cut down the waste involved in large military expenditures, a way might be found to reduce European obligations to the United States. It is not at all clear that any such bargain is feasible, either from the view-

point of American or European public opinion, but the possibility is worth noting.

There is a personal element that is worth noting, also. It seems not improbable that France's veteran statesman, Aristide Briand, will continue to exert an influence on French policy, and will, in all probability, be present next February in Geneva. While too much emphasis ought never to be placed on the value of personal diplomacy, the fact remains that M. Briand is remarkably ingenious in the devising of successful formulas to meet difficult situations. No other man is more of an asset to the cause of world progress.

On the other hand, there are many factors that may make for pessimism. The present economic depression in Europe does not operate wholly in favor of international amity. Periods of economic crisis are likely to be periods when the national nerves are inflamed. In more than one European country an insensate nationalism has drawn strength from the turn of the tide of prosperity. In Germany, Hitlerism has by no means run its course. In Italy, the Fascist government is under the temptation to cover up domestic difficulties by taking a strong stand in foreign affairs. In France, the criticisms of M. Briand have never been more violent or more venomous than in the course of the last few months. The growth of this jingoistic feeling is something to be reckoned with in the months ahead.

Still more important, there is a fundamental division in post-war Europe between the satisfied and the unsatisfied powers. The former, very naturally, would like to retain their present physical superiority as the basis for the maintenance of their position; the latter, on the other hand, naturally hope from the arms conference an alteration in the status quo which will redound to their favor. How is it possible to reconcile these two points of views?

The answer to this question might be easier if more headway had been made with the vexed question of security. If it had been possible by international agreement to lay solidly and formally the basis of a new international order in which the appeal to violence brought instantaneous punishment, then the way might be clearer to reduction of armaments. But this is still far from being the case.

Indeed, many of the critics of the peace treaties talk as if any such agreement would be a covenant with Hell. Their hostility to the political settlements effected at Paris makes them in effect condone their alteration by physical force. They are like so many other of the peace idealists; they do not want peace enough to make sacrifices for it. They want peace only if they can first re-arrange the map of Europe to their taste, or, as they would probably put it, they want justice first, and peace second. Whatever one may think of this point of view (and I must say frankly that I do not agree with it), it is a point of view to be reckoned with. Neither in Great Britain nor in America has public opinion been ready to guarantee the existing order against change by physical force. In default of the existence of such international guarantees, how is it to be expected that states which now possess a distinct advantage in materiel, and military and naval armaments, should be willing to surrender this advantage without much struggle and heart-burning?

There are, then, very considerable obstacles in the way of a general agreement for the reduction of armaments. It is useless to ignore the fact. The difficulties of the problem will certainly not be solved by any ostrich-like policy. They will have to be frankly faced.

If they are so faced, some progress ought to be made next year at Geneva. On the side of naval armaments, in particular, the possibilities of a new advance are real. Only two months ago we were within sight, as it seemed, of a Franco-Italian naval agreement which would have simplified the naval problem. With increasing reasons for economy, with increasing political pressure from outside powers, such an agreement may well be brought about in the future.

Drastic reductions in the field of military forces seem hardly likely. But it would not be extravagant to assume that some progress may be made toward stabilizing, if not toward reducing, armaments. Such a step, while it would not solve the problem, would undeniably be an indication of progress. If accompanied by some measure of international supervision of armaments, it would register a very considerable advance. It would not satisfy Germany, or the other states defeated in the war, but it would ease the situation

as between France and Italy, and might in time furnish the basis for a percentual cut all along the line when Europe is politically and economically more stable. Considering the newness of the problem, so far as practical politics are concerned, this would be a matter in which to rejoice.

The rôle of the United States at the forthcoming conference will be important, but not decisive. On the side of naval armaments, economies could undeniably be effected if the American government would consent to what is universally desired by the other powers, a reduction in the size of capital ships. But to this course our Navy Department is violently opposed, on the ground that we need ships with a large cruising radius. Its views will probably prevail. On the side of military armaments, the debt question may conceivably be used as a leverage for concession. The "implementing" of the Kellogg pact might also be of value. But the diplomatic weapons at our disposal, as matters stand today, do not seem to be numerous.

Important, indeed, as is the whole question of armaments, it may well be doubted whether its solution is not a secondary matter to the development of international institutions and the international habit of mind. When the peoples of the world have come to think in terms of collaboration and not of rivalry, when they have formed the habit of resorting to international agencies for the solution of international questions, reliance upon physical force will tend to diminish and disappear. In the long work of education which lies ahead, there is no one so humble that he may not contribute to the realization of this greatest of contemporary ideals.

LEAVES OF THE GREATER BIBLE

Compiled and Edited by
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PART XII

VEDIC PRAYERS

THE GAYATRI

Come, let us adore,
The highest glory of that Sun divine
Who illumineth all,
From whom do all proceed,
By whom are they evermore renewed,
Into whom they must return:
Yea, Him we now invoke
To direct our mind and soul
In our onward faring
Toward His holy seat!

HYMN FROM THE MAITRI UPANISHAD

O thou, who art the Creator,
Who art also the Preserver,
O thou who art the roaring Storm-god,
O thou who art the Sun-god, Lord of all creatures,
O thou who art the God of Fire,
My strong Lord of the waters under the earth,
And the God of the Winds of the Spirit,
O thou who art the God of the blessing of Rain,
O thou who art the Lord of Time,

O thou who art the very nourishment of our good,
O thou who art the Judge and King of the Dead,
O thou who art the Mother of all living,
O thou who art the All, the Unshaken, the Immutable One,
O Hearken!

All manifold being existeth, reposeth in Thee alone:
Unto Thee, O Lord of All,
Unto Thee be honor and glory!

O soul of the All, the active in all action,
Thou who hast joy of all,
And art alive in all who live,
Thou Lord of all ecstacies and all blissful delight,
All hail!

Hail unto Thee, O peace of the Spirit,
O Hidden One in the Silence,
Subtler and deeper than thought and sound,
Whom space cannot bound or mete,
Without beginning and end, Infinite,
Beginning and end alike of all,
All hail! All hail!
Hail!

Hymn to Vishnu

Thou, O Lord, art
One with Supreme Wisdom,
And one also with the lower wisdom!
All knowledge is Thy form!

Thou art hidden,
Thou art indescribable,
Thou art without name,
Thou art inconceivable!
Thou art pure,
Thou art eternal,
Thou art very great!

Thou art smaller than the smallest,
And greater than the greatest,
Seeming many, Thou art but one.
Yea, all things are in Thee:
Like the many-hued fire,
Lurking in endless forms,
Thou quickenest the world,
And answerest the need of every one!

O Thou who art the Unknown,
Thou art the all-knowing!
Thou art the true One.
Thou art the part, Thou art the whole!
Thou art above concealment.

Thou art the preserver of all regions,
Thy abode is in the high places of the earth,
And to Thee the earth flieth for refuge!
O Thou, who pervadest the whole universe alone,
Where need of Thee is, there, O there, art Thou!

(*To be continued*)

ECONOMIC WORLD WELFARE

IV. HOW THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE WORKS

by

AMOS STOTE

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UP to the time of the Flood, man was getting along in a comfortable way with but one language. Then came that Tower of Babel episode from which the world has never recovered. We were left with a heritage of language barriers which have been tragically instrumental in the setting up of national barriers, trade barriers, and many other hazards in the path of world peace and progress.

So one finds a peculiar interest in studying the personnel of the International Chamber of Commerce, insofar as origins are concerned, for in the offices of the Headquarters of that organization are native-born men and women from Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Poland, Russia, Switzerland and the United States, and they are working side by side. Yet there is no "Tower of Babel" here for in addition to their other abilities these people are selected for their facility with languages.

A true world community exists within these offices where the nationals of eleven countries work together, discuss projects, study the economic problems affecting all countries and gain, at least to some extent, an understanding of the homelands of their fellows. And all the while their combined field of operation is the world. In personal contacts and in daily work their outlook is international and their services are international.

Another surprising fact concerning the staff of the International Chamber of Commerce is that there are only forty-eight persons making up the whole force. Economic data relating to all the world, contacts with fifty nations represented in the membership of the

organization, problems of finance, transportation, communication, customs barriers, flag discrimination, uniform documents, commercial arbitration, and a thousand subsidiary subjects are dealt with by this staff. Forty-eight men and women from eleven countries engaged in serving the economic interests of all countries, working to bring the whole world into economic harmony.

To avoid endless difficulties, for it can not be expected that even this gathering together of linguistic internationals can offer mastery of many languages by all, English and French have been made the two official tongues for correspondence. Adequate production, as well as assurance of responsibility for the exact interpretation of a statement, made this ruling necessary. In the case of news issued to the press, as well as the regular output of printed matter, German is made a third standard language.

The sources of information from which the International Chamber receives its vast store of data are as wide-spread as are its distribution of official publications. In fact the organization follows in its own operations the basic principle it is forever propounding, the commercial importance of maintaining reciprocal trading. Its chief sources of information, taken as a whole, are also the chief recipients of its assembled, digested and condensed presentations.

Its sources of information are carefully classified. From the 120 international bodies with which it is in contact come data relating to the special subjects with which these associations are concerned. Some of these institutions are technical, some financial, industrial, mercantile, some scientific. But they all contribute their quota to the archives of the International Chamber.

Other sources from which information automatically flows in, include a list of 110 special publications with which exchanges are maintained, as well as a list of 185 developed sources of data which is kept active on a cooperative basis through the International Chamber's magazine, *World Trade*.

Then there is a mailing list of 500 picked publications which have shown themselves interested in promoting world affairs through giving publicity to the projects sponsored by the Chamber.

This list is divided into two groups: Journals of general information dealing with serious subjects of an economic character, which receive all printed matter issued by the Chamber; and class or technical publications to which are sent all documents relating to their special subjects.

While the bulk of the circulation of *World Trade* goes to the members of the International Chamber, there is no arbitrary restriction placed upon its distribution, with the result that it is subscribed for by a number of people who find its articles by international experts of general cultural value.

One of the most important lists scheduled to receive all the printed services undertaken by the Chamber is composed of all the Commercial Attaches stationed in Paris even to those of countries which do not have National Committees, or which have no Administrative Commissioner representing their National Committees stationed at Headquarters. By this means governments are kept informed of what business desires in the development of world commerce, and they get this information divorced from any national or political bias.

As an institution functioning chiefly in a parliamentary capacity, the International Chamber of Commerce does not involve itself in any affairs which might draw criticism from governments by attempts to bring pressure through political sources to gain acceptance of its projects. This work is left to its National Committees. These committees can not be formed until the economic forces of each country in which they exist have been so organized as to make them truly representative of the economic interests of that nation. The result is that each National Committee is composed of the leaders in the chief departments of business of each country. It is through these committees that pressure is brought to bear on governments, each National Committee doing what should be done to promote international trade and economic harmony. To some extent these committees are self-contained and carry on activities as independent bodies. This freedom of action has proved beneficial to the interests of the International Chamber in that the committees can act while the Chamber can only propose.

This is notably true of the American National Committee, which has done much to promote the cause of world economics with the government at Washington. This committee has also issued its own publications of great worth to the operations of the International Chamber in that many of the trade associations of the United States have been brought to the support of the world problems which they had formerly set aside in favor of their own more local desires.

Another interesting phase of the educational work being carried out by the International Chamber of Commerce relates to the special memberships it grants to universities and libraries. Through this arrangement these institutions receive the publications of the Chamber, thus making these documents available to students and others interested in economic subjects as well as providing data for the research work of the institutions themselves. There are many such memberships existing at the present time, covering the libraries of Universities in countries from the United States to Japan. In Finland the Library of the Chamber of Deputies is a member while in Switzerland and France memberships are held by the governmental Departments of Commerce. In fact certain departments of all governments receive the documents issued by the International Chamber.

Many special requests for particular information come to the International Chamber from various sources, frequently from governments through their Consuls located in Paris. Egypt has availed itself of this service. So has Brazil. The old world and the new both seek data here which they felt could be secured from no other source.

Occasionally a National Committee will solicit the influence of the International Chamber of Commerce to assist in correcting some condition which requires the cooperation of another country. In such a case the Committee making overtures will present the situation to Headquarters where it is reviewed as to how the matter affects both countries. It is then handed on to the National Committee of the second country, with the frequent result that cordial and practical working relations are established between the two nations.

There have been some 225 special publications produced by the International Chamber, most of them printed in three languages, dealing authoritatively with economic problems which must be solved before the world can hope to have any endurance of progress, either spiritual or commercial.

While true to its name and realizing that the practical value of its service must ever have in mind some definite problem of world commerce, the breadth of action of the International Chamber and its outlook are such that in its ultimate scheme there appears the essential of world peace if there is to be continuous advancement for world trade.

In a sense, the function of the International Chamber of Commerce, taking all its activities and lumping them together, is to present to international business the solution to problems which must be solved for the sake of that business. To do this the Chamber recognizes that each such problem must also be viewed from the standpoint of the advancement of humanity, and that all the world must be considered as a unit, as a going concern. From this position it is able to serve governments, business and people generally in ways in which they can not serve themselves.

The International Chamber of Commerce has no authority, nor desire, to issue orders. It does not command, consequently it can never be accused of using undue pressure. It presents. It proposes. It is the John the Baptist of economics. The Voice crying in the wilderness of confused commerce, "prepare ye the way." Then it tells how the way must be prepared. It writes the prescription. The world of trade must have the prescription filled. Governments must take the remedy.

PACIFISM AND THE NATIONAL STATE

The Irresistible Force and the Immovable Obstacle

by

HORACE HOLLEY

THE decision of the Supreme Court to deny citizenship to Dr. Macintosh and Miss Bland, on the grounds that they refuse unconditionally to bear arms in defense of the nation, raises in its most concrete form the issue of pacifism and the national state. Its immense possibilities for disruption are by no means indicated by the righteous indignation of those who exalt conscience above the community or on the other hand by the relief of those who feel that somehow the greatness of America has been vindicated.

The fact that such a conflict exists proves that the popular philosophy of government carries a large emotional content of inert tradition making it difficult to perceive the really fundamental changes which have been transforming the state in this generation.

In the West, modern government arose in the need of subjects to be protected from arbitrary authority. The impulse stimulated by the passion for individual freedom dictated the philosophy interpreting the functions of the state. The majestic forces implied in supreme sovereignty were exalted as the condition of greatest liberty, the bulwark safeguarding the person, the property, the contractual rights and the conscience of the citizen.

For simple, agricultural communities and trading centers emerging from feudalism such a theory was inevitable. The citizen's government stood between him and his monarch, his local lord—and a too ambitious church.

The intricate social relationships proceeding from industrialism have transformed the state from a mere center of authority to

an organism of administrative responsibility. The modern state, not by usurpation but through accrual, is compelled to direct a vast social mechanism, and not merely to intervene when formal laws are broken. Its tax and tariff powers—to say nothing of its educational system—alone are capable of exercising tremendous influence on social evolution.

The war-making right of government was also originally a protection to a people frequently invaded by armies carrying out dynastic designs or obliged to accompany their own rulers on similar excursions.

The administrative responsibility of the modern state endows its jurisdiction with an entirely new order of sovereignty. It carries the ultimate burden not merely of protecting person and property but of maintaining adequate sources of income. The most capitalistic state must today in emergency take over some of the aims of Socialism, if not its methods, to save itself from the consequences of domestic strife. Any failure on the part of the national government as the center of administration will produce a catastrophe in the form of social upheaval conceivably as disastrous as international war.

Responsibility is the true source of authority and power in this age, as power was the source of authority and responsibility in the past. To rebel against power is one thing: to cripple the instruments of responsibility is quite another.

From the point of view of the national state, the pacifist represents the entering wedge of influence attempting to weaken its administrative jurisdiction. If it admits the right of conscience to stand apart from its war-making powers, it must theoretically release other citizens from loyalty to its other powers, since all its powers are conjoined in the conception of supreme sovereignty. Non-conformity as an attitude has become impossible with the evolution of government from arbitrary power to ceaseless responsibility.

The national state, in other words, is still the sole source of order and stability in human affairs. The ideal of personal liberty has been submerged in the larger ideal of social coordination, and that pacifism which serves to justify and stimulate non-conformity,

or non-cooperation, may conceivably pull down its own house and become the unwitting cause of the bitterest of all kinds of war.

The pacifist attitude, moreover, is not strengthened by those religious leaders who gallantly acclaim the rights of "conscience."

It should be realized that "conscience" is by no means an automatically certain guide to the truth of any situation. The conscience of a Protestant will infrequently produce the same attitude as the conscience of a Catholic. Capitalists are exactly as conscientious as Socialists or workers. The churches which have claimed the guardianship of their members' conscience have practised even greater cruelty against non-conformists than have national states. If the Soviet government needs precedents in the field of religious philosophy, it can find them all too ready at hand.

The most that can be said for individual conscience is that it is a latent awareness of one's true identity, functioning through personality in whatever stage of moral and mental development it happens to be. If complete freedom of conscience were possible, no church would ever have adopted a creed, but there would be as many religions as there are individuals. Every creed is the suppression of individual conscience in the very realm where conscience is presumably most valid.

If, then, one overlooks the stupidity and dishonesty of some of its administrators, the right of the modern state to insist upon undivided allegiance can not be denied. There were alternatives to government when governments were monarchs, but there is no alternative to the function of the national state as the basis of order and the source of public policy. We stand or fall by the capacity of government to administer the oppressive complexity of present-day affairs, and the non-cooperation of the conscientious pacifist leads to the same result as the avowed lawlessness of the gang.

But the national state, on the other hand, by reason of the same forces which have transformed it from the symbol of authority to the symbol of social coordination, exists in a world of other national states all of which have become interdependent. The war-making power, which was once a "right" in that it safeguarded its citizens, has become a "wrong" in that no armament can any longer

protect a population from the lethal instruments developed by science.

Where the pacifist attitude is unjustifiable arises from the relation of the state to its own citizens, but the pacifist attitude is justifiable and necessary if we enlarge our view to include the relation of the state to other states. From this view, the armed national state has itself become the greatest menace to human life. The state can no longer control the direction or extent of war, and therefore its sovereignty is no longer supreme.

The impact of pacifism and the national state resembles the meeting of an irresistible force and an immovable obstacle precisely because the ideal of world peace is today irresistible in terms of human evolution. To deny or neglect this ideal is sheer national suicide. There no longer is any such thing as military victory—all states participating in another war would be crushed in defeat. But the national state is likewise immovable in terms of its domestic jurisdiction. Any form of rebellion or non-cooperation against it in this sphere opposes the highest interests of all citizens.

As long as the peace ideal expresses itself in terms of pacifism —non-cooperation—its result will be merely to strengthen the militarist party.

The tragedy of this conflict between pacifism and the national state is that both attitudes are correct, but operate in different spheres. What the pacifist of the conscientious type passionately seeks is a social order in which public administration shall have moral value. He realizes that all states are clinging to a "right" which human evolution has abolished. He knows that the national state, by clinging to the war-making power, not only compels other states to retain that power but also prevents it from exercising its full capacity of administering domestic affairs. The national state, in other words, has fatally crippled itself in this age for dealing with problems like unemployment because it functions in a constant tension arising from its own attitude of non-cooperation toward other states.

The Supreme Court decision, then, means that a national state demands full cooperation from its own citizens, while refusing to

extend full cooperation to other states. Such an attitude means further that the national state has come to exist in an economic and political as well as moral vacuum, blind to the world situation, repudiating the divine law of brotherhood and peace, incapable even of performing its true functions in the domestic field. The national state, in short, has become a positively immoral institution no longer representing the true interests of its own citizens but operating, with the outer forms of democracy, under the sole principle of survival laid down by Machiavelli for the Italian Prince. Such is the impasse into which we have entered unwittingly and without Machiavellian motive, like animals driven into a huge trap.

Government as the source of peace, the instrument and inspiration of human cooperation on a world scale, can rightly command not merely the allegiance but also the whole-hearted devotion of its citizens. Government as the source of war, the obstacle to international trade and cultural intercourse, the jealous guardian of an outworn parochial system, deserves the contempt or despair of every adult man or woman having intelligence and goodwill.

But contempt and despair at the spectacle of a government fomenting revolution even if it escapes the horrors of war implies a gulf between people and state dug by the people themselves.

The larger significance of the war-making state in this age is that the springs of socialized motive in religion have dried up. The evolution of the church away from the intention of the Sermon on the Mount and into a structure of government which taught Machiavelli his theory of the sovereign state, made the moral evolution of the West develop the ideal of individualism which flowered in the democracy arising from the Protestant revolt. A citizenship conditioned by the present relations of church and state is ultimately responsible for the world crisis now gathered around us like the dark powers of destructive storm. The state is nothing but the church projected into the political realm. Both alike are forms of nemesis scourging us all by social catastrophe to look deeper into the spiritual world, feel again our essential solidarity as conscious human beings, re-read the pages of history in terms of the prophets instead of the Napoleons, and assume full moral responsibility for

the justice of our world policies.

What has actually happened is that human evolution has entered an entirely new stage. At this moment of transition, when we stand appalled by the results of unmoral policy in business and government, the past by inertia is still commingling its influence and reproducing its forms of reality in unawakened minds and hearts. Individualism struggles instinctively against the pressure of a new and higher reality operating to join all human destinies as elements of a world soul. Cause and effect have become immediate, challenging the intellect to devise a society in which necessity shall be felt as a constructive and unifying rather than a disruptive force. Conscience, with its spiritual urge, its vision of an attainable perfection, will return when universal ideals are upheld for the inspiration of individuals, and when public opinion crystallizes its hopes around the success of leaders striving for the community of all mankind.

Government will have moral value, human life will have meaning and stability, when the national states yield their sovereignty to an international state, and every day of their refusal to take this inevitable step contributes to the menace of chaos and strife.

Private enterprise has run its course. The crying need of the times is for men and women of superior capacity to abandon the limited field of the self-seeking professions to lesser minds, and throw themselves, before it is too late, into the task of educating their fellow citizens in the elements of cooperation and peace.

In the longer view, what is true coincides with what is useful. In the deeper view, both coincide with what is possible—what is attainable by man.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Manual of American Design, 1930, Edited by R. L. Leonard and C. A. Glassgold, Ives Washburn.

The Place of Agriculture in American Life, by Wilson Gee, Macmillan.

Krisis der Kultur, by Jakob Christonus, Carl Reissner, (Dresden.)

Humanist Religion, by Curtis W. Reese, Macmillan.

The Glorious Koran, an Explanatory Translation, by Marmaduke Pickthall, Knopf.

World Reformation by Monetary Revolution, by Samuel Bottomley, Martian Pub. Company.

The Issues of Life, by Henry Nelson Wieman, Abingdon Press.

That Next War, by K. A. Bratt, Harcourt, Brace.

The American Leviathan, by Charles A. and William Beard, Macmillan.

The Mysterious Universe, by Sir James Jeans, Macmillan.

Humanism: Another Battle Line, Edited by Wm. P. King, Cokesbury Press.

The Soviet Challenge to America, by George S. Counts, John Day.

About Zionism, by Albert Einstein, Macmillan.

The International City of Tangier, by Graham H. Stuart, Stanford Univ. Press.

The Persians, by Sir E. Denison Ross, The Clarendon Press.

International Understanding, by John Eugene Harley, Stanford Univ. Press.

Religions of the World, C. Clemen, Harcourt, Brace.

American Society, Charles F. Thwing, Macmillan.

Economic Life of Soviet Russia, by Calvin B. Hoover, Macmillan.

Which Way Religion, by Harry F. Ward, Macmillan.

The Genius of Mexico, Ed. by Hubert C. Herring and Katherine Terrill, The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America.

The Religion of Man, by Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan.
The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work, by Auguste Jorns, translated by Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Macmillan.
Morals of Tomorrow, by Ralph W. Sockman, Harper Bros.
The Enduring Quest, by H. A. Overstreet, W. W. Norton.
Religions and Philosophies in the U. S. of America, by Julius A. Weber, Wetzel Publishing Company.
International Government, by Edmund C. Mower, D. C. Heath Co.
World Revolution and Religion, by Paul Hutchinson, Abingdon Press.
America's Way Out, by Norman Thomas, Macmillan.
Friedrich Nietzsche, by George Burman Foster, Macmillan.
Racial Factors in American Industry, by Herman Feldman, Harper Bros.
Equality, by R. H. Tawney, Harcourt, Brace.
The Civilizations of the East, by Rene Grousset, Alfred A. Knopf.
A Journey in Search of Our Selves, by Florence C. Peck, Lucis Publishing Co.
Water from the Old Wells, compiled by Will Hayes, The Order of the Great Companions.
Problems of Peace, 5th Series, Committee of the Geneva Inst. of International Relations, Oxford University Press.
A Crusade for Humanity, by Edwin John McGee, Watts and Co. (London.)
Modern Architecture, by Frank Lloyd Wright, Princeton University Press.
The History of Peace, by A. C. F. Beales, The Dial Press.
The Holy Land under Mandate, by Fannie Fern Andrews, Houghton Mifflin Co.
"He Stirreth Up the People" by H. J. Hahn, Salem Evangelical Brotherhood.
A National Policy, by Sir Oswald Mosley, (pamphlet) Macmillan.
The International Note in Contemporary Drama, by Evelyn Newman, Kingsland Press.
Building the World Society, by Laura W. McMullen, Whittlesey House.

ROUND TABLE

It is with deep regret that the editors record the passing of *Walter Walsh,* leader of the Free Religious Movement, London, and author of the articles on John Burns, Lord Ponsonby and John Morley in the series on Apostles of World Unity. The great liberals of his age have witnessed the apparent frustration of their fondest ideals, in the emergence of larger problems than those they could organize to solve, but the new quickening of educators in all countries to universalize the educational system promises an early rebirth of liberalism on a scale greater than we have ever known.

To Dr. Walsh's successors in the Free Religious Movement, *World Unity* extends its hearty best wishes for the success of their work.

The opportune arrival of a photograph of *David Starr Jordan* enables the editors to render homage to one of the earliest and most ardent members of the peace movement in America. His cordial interest and effective cooperation since the magazine was established has been a most powerful reinforcement to an undertaking so dependent on the spirit of understanding and goodwill. The few excerpts from Dr. Jordan's writings published this month were taken from selections published by the students of Leland Stanford University.

The astounding case of the action of the trustees of Ohio State University in dismissing *Herbert A. Miller,* professor of sociology, whether on the grounds of his alleged remarks in India or because he has opposed military training of students at the university, raises another challenge to the entire teaching profession. It is to be hoped that the Society of College Professors will resist this action and compel its withdrawal. If our national policy of non-cooperation with other nations, plus the militarization of college students, is to continue, America surely lost the war.

The status of the educator is the most important issue in

American life today. While it is for the profession itself to establish teaching as the first of professions, and the general public can contribute little except moral support to the struggle, the sphere of educators like Dr. Miller steadily enlarges as a complex world situation calls for interpretation beyond the experience and capacity of most men in political life. Readers of *World Unity,* who have had the privilege of reading his articles on Eastern lands, appreciate how closely scholarship has come to daily life. An alliance between the public and the teaching profession is needed before there can be any fundamental regeneration in public morality.

Archie M. Palmer, in his article on "The Colleges and World Affairs," brings strong confirmation of the fact that the more important institutions realize their new responsibilities in a revolutionary world. The old tradition of the "humanities" reasserts itself, correcting the wrong emphasis given to the so-called "scientific" view of education.

Next month's *World Unity* will contain an article analyzing the American peace movement and predicting its complete collapse unless definite social objectives are set up and the movement transformed from an emotional to an educational basis. Somehow, according to the author, himself a close student of peace organizations, static membership programs must be abandoned and a dynamic organism of social influence achieved. It is proposed to bring this article to the attention of executives in peace movements throughout the world, and the kind cooperation of readers will be appreciated in giving it the widest possible hearing.

With the present issue we begin the publication of letters written by *World Unity* readers, expressing some of the reasons why they value the magazine. The editors hope that other busy people will take time to express their own views. Somewhere between the daily newspaper, which exploits events, and the cultural magazine, which deals with them from many points of view, there is room for one monthly periodical concentrating upon the world outlook.

World Unity, in fact, anticipated that alliance between educators and the public referred to above.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

By *Kirby Page*
Editor, The World Tomorrow

The vital question *must there be another war?* has inspired the preparation of this outstanding book.

The author divides his subject into four major headings: 1. Causes of the World War. 2. Results of the World War. 3. Existing Perils to World Peace. 4. A Strategy of National Defense.

"War will not be prevented by describing its horrors. But in reaching a decision as to our attitude toward the war system, the actual nature of modern warfare should be kept vividly in mind.

"Sentimentality should be replaced by realism. If the United States again goes to war it will not be for the purpose of repelling aggressive invaders of our shores, but in all probability will be to protect our property rights in other lands or to uphold our national rights on the high seas."

There has been no work written to interpret the full meaning of international war in terms of modern democracy. The average person's idea of war is full of inconsistency, trailing along attitudes inherited from the past which struggle with new intuitions arising from present-day life.

Kirby Page has made a valiant effort to produce this greatly needed work.

Price $3.00

FARRAR & RINEHART, INC., *Publishers,* New York City, New York

THE LIBRARIAN'S VIEWPOINT

Letters from World Unity Readers — I

World Unity, according to a librarian's viewpoint, is unique in the field of periodical literature. Its stimulating and authoritative articles are varied in scope, subject and methods of treatment, yet a certain essential tone pervades and unifies them all, bearing out the general purpose of the magazine stated in each number. Writers whose viewpoint stretches beyond local or national affairs to those of universal interest in the world are the contributors. An article may deal with education, art or religion, but its outlook is always international.

In a library, both the interest of material to the general reader and its use in reference work must be considered. World Unity is valuable in both lines, first, because the public reads it, and second, because in it we are able to find articles helpful to the student.

World brotherhood in all its implications is a much discussed subject today. The high school student who has been assigned some phase of the question for theme work or debate, often finds in this periodical just the right ideas to stimulate his thinking or prove his points. Too much concrete material on world friendship cannot be included. We find a series such as "Youth and the Modern World" edited by Isabella Van Meter, particularly the number, "How Teachers May Promote World Friendship" (September, 1929), extremely helpful. "Youth and the Church" by A. B. Jacob (September, 1930) is also the type which may be used for a definite purpose.

Furthermore, the influence of the magazine may extend beyond school and library. Forums and club groups could profit either by a systematic or by an occasional use of its articles as a basis for discussion and further reading. For example, the series "Apostles of World Unity," including Tagore, Ginn and others, has great possibilities. Frequently, classified reading lists included will aid the reader.

Since World Unity is now indexed in the International Index, its value in general reference work will be greatly increased.

ELIZABETH O. JULIAN

Philosophy and Religion Dept.
Los Angeles Public Library,
Los Angeles, California

BOOKS FOR WORLD UNITY READERS

A WORLD COMMUNITY, by *John Herman Randall*

THE book for those who seek to grasp the world movement as a whole, with the inter-relations of economic, political, industrial and social factors, and a careful analysis of the trends making for international organization.

It has been included in the reading list issued by the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War.

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM
by *Herbert Adams Gibbons*

IN THIS book, Dr. Gibbons has infused his historical scholarship with a lifetime of personal experience and participation in international affairs. The result is a study accurate enough for the classroom and interesting enough for the average reader.

"Nationalism and Internationalism" traces the evolution of political force from its first expression in the movement toward modern nationalism, through the nineteenth century, to its present expression in internationalism as the true outcome of national ideals.

SEVEN GREAT BIBLES, by *Alfred W. Martin*

HERE, at last, are the essential truths about Hinduism, Buddhism, Zorastrianism, Confucianism, Taoism, Muhammadanism, Judaism and Christianity that demonstrate the underlying unity and harmony in the texts from which these religions derive—a very history of the soul of man illumined from age to age by inspired teachers pointing the path to brotherhood and peace.

These three books have been published in the World Unity Library initiated and sponsored by this magazine. Per copy, $2.00. Any one title, with annual subscription to World Unity Magazine, $5.00; subscription and two books, $6.75; subscription and all three books, $8.50.

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